

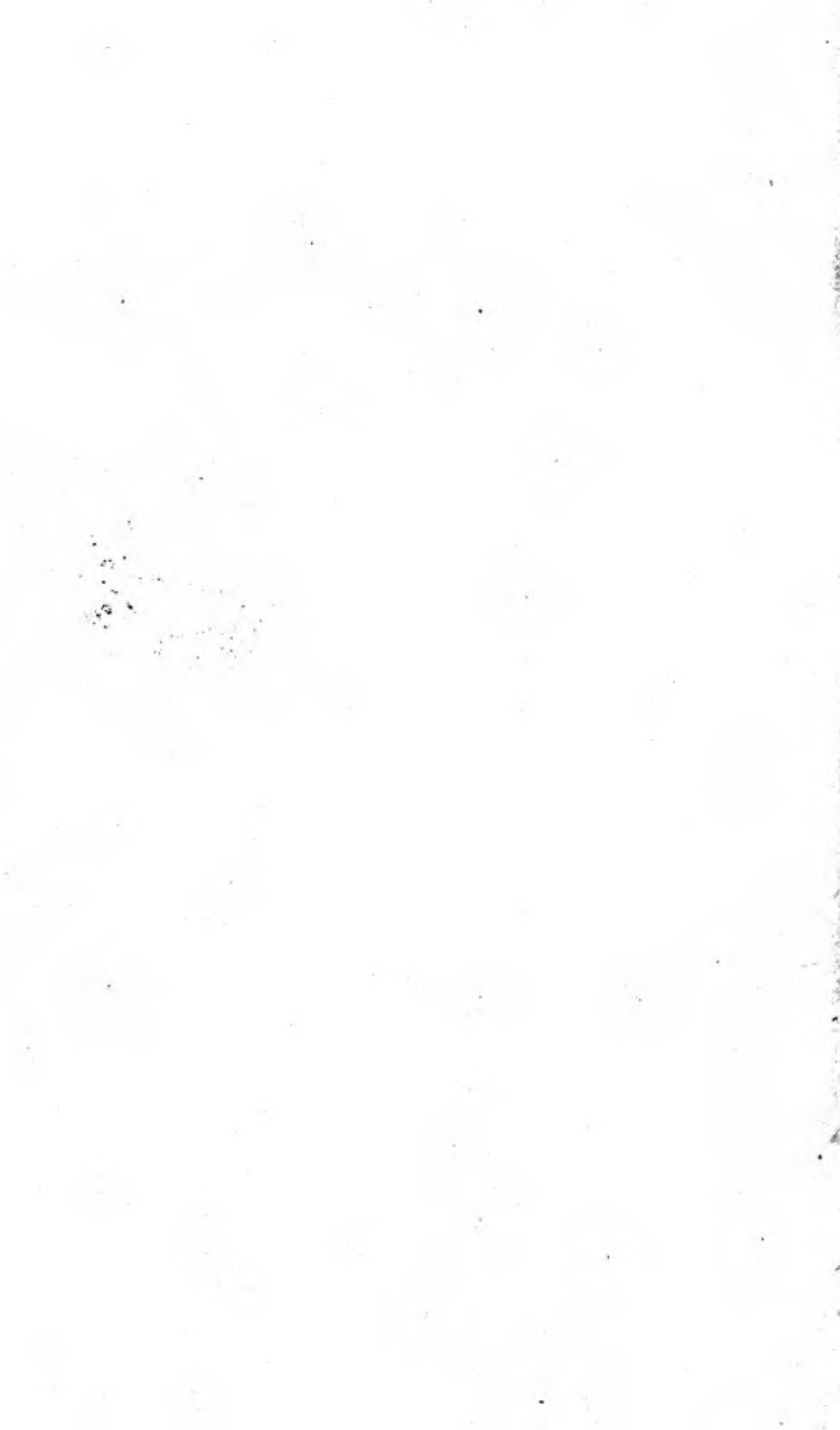
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BOOK VIII.

THE ⁸²⁹⁴¹
ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PANINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

27189 BY



SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.

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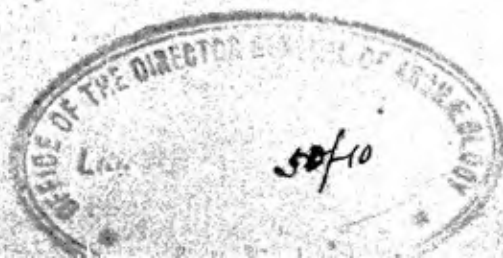
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TO

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Bt. Q. C.,

LATE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

IN

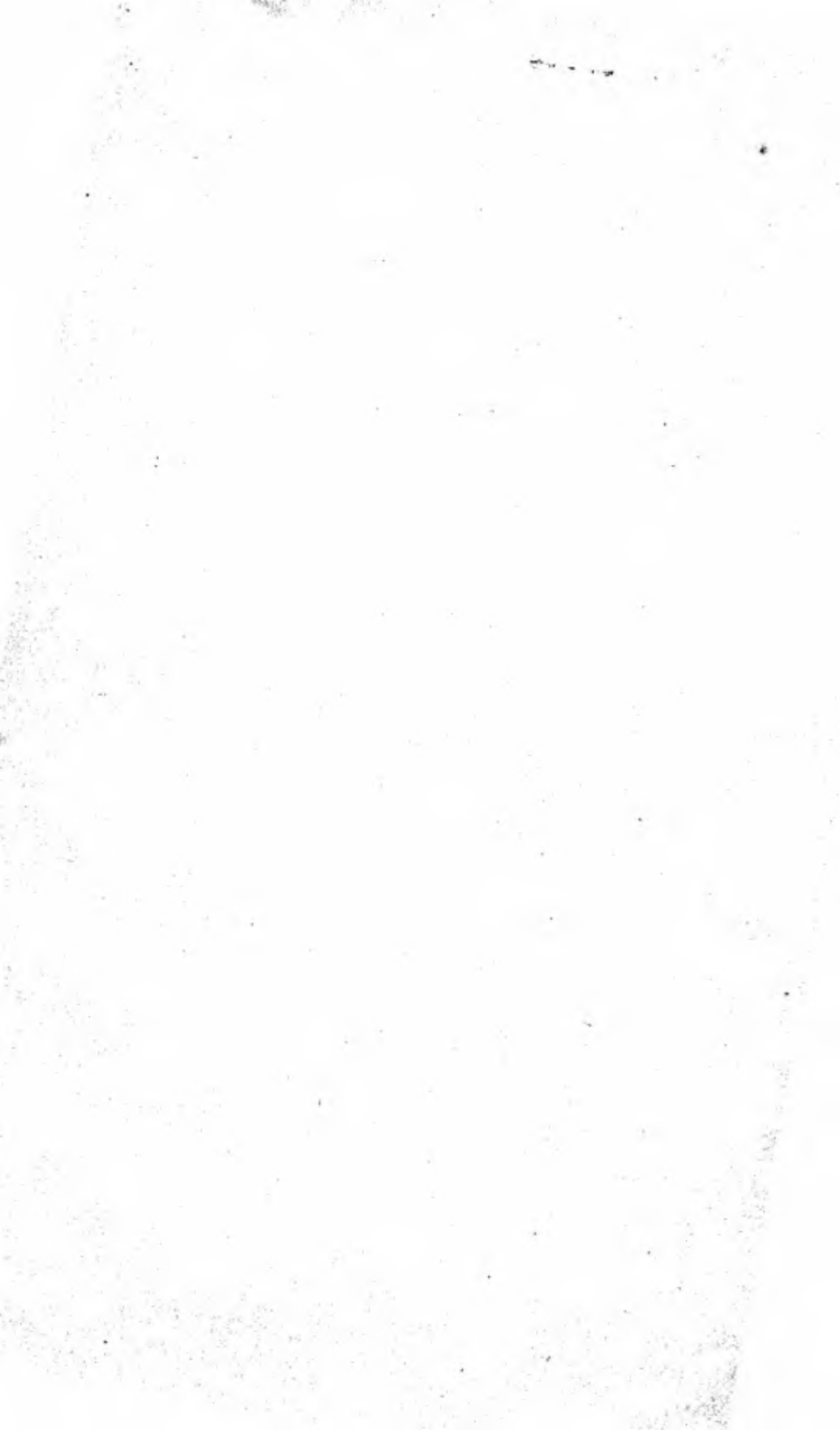
THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.





ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

सर्वस्य द्वे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वस्येति च द्वे इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः प्राक् पदस्येत्यतः सर्वस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. From here upto VIII. 1. 15 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase "the whole word is repeated".

This is an *adhikâra sūtra*. Whatever will be taught hereafter upto पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य द्वे should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4. teaches "when the sense is that of 'always', and 'each'." Here the phrase 'the whole word is repeated' should be supplied to complete the sense. i. e. "The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*". What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one पचति becomes two, as पचति पचति 'he always cooks'. Similarly ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'.

The sūtra 'sarvasya dve', should not be confounded as meaning 'the word-form *sarva* is doubled'. For then rules like VI. 1. 99, and VI. 1. 100 will find no scope. The word *sarva* has several meanings: (1) the totality of *things* (द्रव्यः) as सर्वस्वददाति, (2) the totality of *modes* (प्रकारः) सर्वाङ्गीनोभिधुः = सर्वप्रकारमन्नं भक्षयति; (3) the totality of *members* (अवयवः), as सर्वः पदोदग्धः ॥ In the present sūtra, the word *sarva* has this last sense: namely *all* the *members* of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in *sarvasya*, is that of *sthâna*, i. e. in the *room* of the *whole* of the words like परि &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the sūtra is, that in the *room* of the one word, two are *substituted*. In making such *substitution*, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.

Another meaning of the sūtra however is, that it does not teach *substitution* but *repetition* or *employment*, not ādesā, but prayoga. That is to say, one word is *employed* twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, पचति &c, is employed twice, i. e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

The word sarvasya is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness only. Otherwise, one may double only the last *letter* of a word by the rule of अलोऽन्तस्य, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases.

Obj. The word पदस्य should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samāsa (compound), to taddhitas, and to vākyas (sentences). Thus सप्तपर्णोऽष्टापदम् ॥ Here there is the sense of vīpsā with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly द्विपरिकां वक्षति, here also the sense is that of vīpsā, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in घाने घाने पानयिम् the sentence घाने पानयिम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. 1. 16.

Ans. We could not employ the word padasya in this sūtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling; for सप्तपर्णः means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves पर्वणि पर्वणि सप्तपर्णानि अस्य'; so that the sense of vīpsā is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna. In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the *force* of vīpsā is there denoted by the taddhita *affix* itself, and so doubling is not *necessary*. Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vīpsā can take place with regard to a *word*, and not a sentence. Therefore the word पदस्य should not be employed in the sūtra.

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sūtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have प्रपचति प्रपचति; for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only पचति would be doubled, and प्र would not. So also, we have two forms द्रोग्धा and द्रोढा ॥ Here वृच् is added to the root द्रुह्, and ह् is optionally changed to च by VIII. 2. 77, and in the other alternative there is ढ ॥ As च and ढ are both asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), the doubling would take place without making this च or ढ substitution. So that having first doubled the word (something as द्रोहता द्रोहता) then optional च or ढ change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like द्रोग्धा द्रोढा, द्रोढा द्रोग्धा in doubling. While the correct forms are द्रोढा द्रोढा, or द्रोग्धा द्रोग्धा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vārtika पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयम-द्विर्वचने (See VIII. 2. 3 last vārtika).

Or the word सर्व may be considered to be formed by अच् affix of अक्षि, meaning सर्व कार्ये यस्मिन्नस्ति तदिह सर्वं, तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥ That is, all operations having been *first* performed, *then* the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

तस्य परमाश्रेडितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, परम्, आश्रेडितम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य द्विरुक्तस्य यत्परं शब्दरूपं तदाश्रेडितसंज्ञं भवति ॥

2. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called *āmreḍita* (repeated).

Thus in चौर चौर ३, वृषल वृषल ३ इत्यो ३ घातयिष्यामि स्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि स्वा, the second word being *āmreḍita* is *pluta*. The word *आश्रेडित* occurs in *Sūtras* VI. 1. 99, VIII. 1. 57, VIII. 2. 95, VIII. 10. 3 &c.

The तस्य here denotes *avayava-shashṭhi*: and the word परः denotes the *avayava*. In fact, this *sūtra* indicates by implication, that a Genitive case is employed, when a member (*avayava*) is denoted. So that the sentences like पूर्व कार्यस्य become valid.

In the above examples, the word has become *pluta* by VIII. 2. 95.

अनुदात्तं च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तं च तद्वदिति यदाश्रेडितसंज्ञम् ॥

3. That which is called *āmreḍita* is gravely accented.

Thus भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते ; पशून् पशून् ॥

That is, all the vowels of the *āmreḍita* become *anudātta* or accentless. In the above examples, the root भृञ् becomes *ātmanepadi* by I. 3. 66: the Personal endings are *anudātta* by VI. 1. 186; the *vikaraṇa* शनम् gets the acute by III. 1. 3; the अँ of this नँ is elided by VI. 4. 111, and thus भृङ्क्ते becomes finally acute by *udātta-nivṛtti-svara* (VI. 1. 161). The *āmreḍita* *bhuṅkte* becomes wholly *anudātta*. The word पशु is formed by the affix कृ and is finally acute.

नित्यवीप्सयोः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्य, वीप्सयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नित्ये चार्थे वीप्सायां च यद्वर्तते तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥

4. The whole word is repeated when the sense is of 'always' and 'each'.

What words express 'always'? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by *kṛit* affixes. What 'always' is meant here? The word 'nitya' here means 'again and again', and this idea of 'repetition' is the quality of an action. That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called 'nitya'. So that *nitya* refers to an action (See III. 4. 22). Thus पचति पचति 'he cooks continually'. जल्पति जल्पति 'he talks incessantly'. भुङ्क्ता भुङ्क्ता व्रजति or

भोजं भोजं ब्रजति 'each one, when he has eaten goes away.' See III. 4. 22. लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येवायं लुनाति (See III. 4. 2). The affixes *ktvā* and *namul* formed words and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated. While the words formed with the affix *यङ्* (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition. Thus पुनः पुनः पचति = पापच्यते ॥ And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated; as पापच्यते पापच्यते ॥ In the above, examples have been given of *nitya*, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति, Indeclinable *kṛit* words like भुक्त्वा, and like भोजं ॥ Now for *vīpśā* ॥ In what words the *vīpśā* is found? It is found in nouns (सुप् formed words). As finite verbs (तिङ्) express *nitya*, so inflected nouns (सुप्) express *vīpśā* or a distributive sense. What is meant by the word *vīpśā*? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (*vyāptum ichchhā*) an object through and through with a certain quality or action. That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker, with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is *vīpśā*. Thus ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'. So also जनपदो जनपदो रमणीयः पुरुषः पुरुषो निधनमुपैति ॥

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of *nityatā*; and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as पचति पचतितराम् ॥ But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to *vīpśā*, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated, as आद्यतरमाद्यतरमानयम् ॥

परैर्वर्जने ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परे, वर्जने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीत्येतस्य वर्जनेर्ये द्वे भवतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ परैर्वर्जनेऽसमासे वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

5. The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of 'with the exception or exclusion of'.

As परि परि विगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः (I. 4. 88 and II. 3. 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Trigarta'. Similarly परि परि सौवीरेभ्यः, परि परि सर्वसिनेभ्यः ॥ Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe ओदनं परिबिञ्चति ॥

Vārt:—Optionally परि, meaning 'exclusion', is repeated when it occurs not in a compound, as परि परि विगर्तेभ्यः or परि विगर्तेभ्यः ॥ In a compound, there is no repetition as, परिबिगर्ते वृष्टो देवः, because the word परि has not the meaning of exclusion only here; in fact, the whole compound word denotes here the idea of exclusion, and not the word परि alone.

The word परि is here a Karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 88), and governs the fifth case by II. 3. 11. In परिबिञ्चति the word is an upasarga.

प्रसमुपोदः पादपूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र, सम्, उप, उद्, पाद पूरणे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्र सम् उप उद् इत्येतेषां पादपूरणे द्वे भवतो द्विवचनेन चेत्यादः पृथगे ॥

6. प्र, सम, उ, and उत् are repeated, when by so doubling, the foot of a verse is completed.

As प्र प्रायमग्निभरतस्य शृण्वे (Rig VII. 8.4), संसमिद्युवसे वृषन् ॥ (Rig X. 191. 1), उपोष मे परामृश (Rig I. 126. 7), किं नोदुदु हर्षसे दातवाउ (Rig IV. 21. 9). Why do we say when 'a foot of a verse is completed there by'? Observe प्रदेवं देव्या धिया ॥ This rule applies only to the Vedic verses, for there alone the Preposition may be used separate from its verb. In the secular literature, this rule has no applicability, as Prepositions are never so used.

उपर्यध्यधसः सामीप्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि, अधि, अधसः, सामीप्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपरि अधि अधम् इत्येतेषां द्वे भवतः सामीप्ये विवक्षिते ॥

7. उपरि, अधि, and अधस् are repeated, when it expresses uninterrupted nearness.

The word sâmpīya means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपर्युपरि दुःखम्, or उपर्युपरि ग्रामम्, अध्यधि ग्रामम्, अधोधो नगरम् ॥ Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि चन्द्रमाः ॥ Why the word is not repeated here: उपरि शिरसो घटं धारयति ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्वे एव हरिर्ब्रूति ।
अधोधो दर्शने कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vipsā.

वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्यासूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्य-
आदेः, आमन्त्रितस्य, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सन, भर्त्सनेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकार्थः पदसमूहो वाक्यम् । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्य द्वे भवतः असूया संमति कोप कुत्सन भर्त्सनइत्ये-
तेषु यदि तद्वाक्यं भवति ॥

8. A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence, is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker.

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or vākya. Thus (1) envy :—माणवकां ३ माणवक अभिरूपकां ३ अभिरूपक रिक्तां ते आभिरूप्यम् ॥ (2) praise — माणवकां ३ माणवक अभिनीतकां ३ अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसि ॥ (3) anger :—माणवकां ३ माणवक अभिनीतकां ३ अभिनीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जालम् ॥ (4) blame :—शक्तिके ३ शक्तिके यदिके ३ यदिके रिक्तां ते शक्तिः ॥ (5) Threat—चार चौरां ३ वृषल वृषलां ३ घातयिष्यामि स्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि स्वा ॥ The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the āmreḍita becomes pluta by VIII. 2. 95. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभन खल्वसि माणवकः ॥ Why do we say of a Vocative? Observe उदारोदेवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'. Observe देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लाम् ॥

In some books, the vākya is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकतिङ् पदसमूहो वाक्यं) ॥ In the first example, कद् is added.

एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकम्, बहुव्रीहि, वत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकं नित्यतच्छब्दरूपं द्विरुक्तं बहुव्रीहिवद्भवति ॥

9. When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member a of Bahuvrīhi compound.

The making it a Bahuvrīhi is for the sake of eliding the case-affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine. Thus ऐकैकमक्षरं पठति (not एकमेकम्), ऐकैकयाहुत्या जुहोति (not एकैकया). The accent is regulated by VI. 2. 1. the case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and masculinising by VI. 3. 34. This double word ऐकैक should not however be treated like a Bahuvrīhi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sūtra I. 1. 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvrīhi compound. The word ऐकैक however is declined like a Pronoun, as ऐकैकस्मै ॥ For sūtra I. 1. 29 applies to a compound which is *really* a Bahuvrīhi, and not to a word-form which is treated *like* a Bahuvrīhi. The repetition of the word Bahuvrīhi in that sūtra, though its anuvritti was understood from the preceding one; indicates this. (2) The application of the rule of accent. Thus by the following sūtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed. Thus न न करोति, सुसुजागर्ति ॥ This double-word is treated *like* a Bahuvrīhi, but not for the purposes of accent. For by VI. 2. 172 a Bahuvrīhi preceded by न or सु gets acute on the final, but not so नन or सुसु ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves 1st VI. 1. 223 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd VI. 2. 1 the first member retaining its accent, 3rd VI. 2. 172 already mentioned, 4th VIII. 1. 3 by which the second member becomes anudatta, The rule VI. 2. 1 however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three. (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrīhi-vat ऐकैक is the rule of samāsanta affixing. Thus ककु ककु, पूः पूः (doubled by VIII. 1. 10) do not get the samāsanta affix अ by V. 4. 74.

आबाधेच ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, बाधे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आबाधनमाबाधः । पीडाप्रयोक्तुं धर्मः । तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य द्वे भवतः बहुव्रीहिव्यास्य कार्यं भवति ॥

10. A word is repeated, and is treated like a member of Bahuvrīhi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed.

Thus गतगतः 'gone, gone to my affliction', नष्टनष्टः, पतितपतितः, in the masculine, and गतगता, नष्टनष्टा, पतितपतिता in the Feminine (not गतागता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1.

कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारय, वत्, उत्तरेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत उत्तरेषु द्विर्वचनेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्यं भवतीत्येतद्वदितव्यम् । कर्मधारयत्वे प्रयोजनं सुक्लोप-
पुंवज्ञावान्तोदात्तत्वानि ॥

11. In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhâraya compound.

The reason for making it a Karmadhâraya is to elide the case - affix (II. 4. 71), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI. 3. 42), and to regulate the accent by VI. 1. 223. Thus पटुपटुः, पटुपटुः where the first member has lost the case-affix. पटुपटुः, पटुपटुः where the first member is treated as a masculine, even when there is a क in the penultimate as कालकालिका (See VI. 3. 37 and 42); पटुपटुः, पटुपटुः, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. 1. 223 was debarred by VIII. 1. 3, but the present rule re-instates VI. 1. 223. The word उत्तरेषु is for the sake of distinctness, the sūtra being an adhikāra one, would have applied to the subsequent aphorisms, without even the word uttareshu.

प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकारे, गुण-वचनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकारे भेदः सादृश्यं च । तदिह सादृश्यं प्रकारे गृह्यते । प्रकारे वर्त्तमानस्य गुणवचनस्य द्वे भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आनुपूर्व्ये द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ स्वार्थे अगर्थमाणेनेकस्मिन्ने भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ आपले द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्रियासमभिहारे द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ आभीक्ष्ये द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ जायि द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ पूर्वप्रथमयोरर्थान्तिशयविवक्षायां द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उत्तरद्वयतयोः समसप्रधारणयोः स्त्री निर्गन्धे भावे द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे सर्वनाम्नो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् सामासवच्च बहुलम् ॥
वा० ॥ स्त्रीनपुंसकयोरुत्तरपदस्य आम्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥

12. An adjective is repeated, when it is meant to express that the said attribute belongs to a thing only to a limited degree, and the double word is treated like a Karma-dhâraya.

The word प्रकार means both 'difference' and 'resemblance'. It means 'resemblance' here: i. e. the person or thing *resembles*, but is not *fully like*, the thing expressing the attribute. Thus पटुपटुः, 'tolerably sharp', पटुपटुः "pretty soft", पीण्डतपीण्डतः &c. The sense is that the attribute is not *fully* possessed by the person. The affix जातीयः (V. 3. 69) also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sūtra. Thus पटुजातीयः, पटुजातीयः ॥

Why do we say prakāre "when denoting somewhat like it"? Observe पटुदेवदत्तः 'the clever Devadatta'. Why do we say 'an attributive or adjective word'? Observe अग्निर्माणवकः, 'a fiery boy', गौ बहिीकः 'a cow-like Bāhika'. Here

'agni' and 'gau' are not naturally adjective words, though employed here like adjectives.

Vart:—An adjective is repeated when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्थूलाः, अथ अथ सूक्ष्माः, ज्येष्ठं ज्येष्ठं प्रवेशयः ॥

Vart:—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense, when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषं माषं देहि 'give a māsha, a māsha out of this kārshāpāṇa to you two': i. e. give only *two* masha one to each. A kārshāpāṇa contains many māshas, out of them, the extent of gift is *limited* to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double (vipśā). The words माषं माषं देहि = द्वौ देहि; the माष does not take the dual case here. Why do we say when it expresses the limit? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि, द्वौमाषौ देह, त्रीन्माषान् देहि. Here the word माष itself does not express limit, but the qualifying words एकं, द्वौ, त्रीन् &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि ॥

Vart:—In expressing perplexity or alarm, a word may be repeated twice. The word चापल in the vārtika means 'a confused state of mind'. As अहिरहिः बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व "a snake, a snake, beware. beware". It is not a necessary condition that the word should be repeated twice only, but as many times as one likes, so long as his meaning is not manifest. As: अहिः अहिः अहिः, बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व ॥

Vart:—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice: as, स भवान् लुनीहि लुनीहि इत्येवायं लुनाति ॥ See III. 4. 2.

Vart:—In re-iteration the word is doubled; as, भुक्ता भुक्ता व्रजति, भोजं भोजं व्रजति ॥ See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

Vart:—The word is repeated when the affix डाच् follows; as, पटपटा करोति, पटपटायते ॥ This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V. 4. 57). Therefore, not here, द्वितीया करोति, तृतीया करोति, where the affix डाच् denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58). Because of this restriction, some read the vārtika as, डाचि बहुलम् ॥

Vart:—The words पूर्व and प्रथम are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्व पूर्व पुण्यन्ति, प्रथमं प्रथमं पच्यन्ते ॥ The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतरं पुण्यन्ति, प्रथमतरं पच्यन्ते ॥

Vart:—The words ending in the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम (comparative and superlative), are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as उभाविमावाक्यौ, कतरा कतरा अनयोराक्यता "Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness." सर्व इमे आक्याः, कतमा कतमा एषाम-

व्यती ॥ This is found in words other than those ending in तर and तम; as, उभावि-
मावाङ्मो, किटशी किटशी अनयोराव्यता ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun
denoting condition (as आव्यता) is not in the feminine : as, उभाविमावाङ्मो, कतरः क-
तरोऽनयोर्विभवः “ Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness.”

Vart.—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled;
and diversely it is treated like a compound (II. 2. 27) when it is not treated
like a compound, then the first word is always exhibited in the nominative
singular. See I. 3. 14, III. 3. 43, and V. 4. 127. Thus, अन्योन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति
“ these Brāhmanas feed one another.” अन्योन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति ॥ अन्योन्यस्य
ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति = इतरेतरान् भोजयन्ति ॥ The word अन्य and पर are never treated as
a compound, and इतर is *always* so treated. The following are from Siddhānta
Kaumudi:— अन्योन्यौ, अन्याऽन्यान् अन्योन्येन कृतं, अन्योन्यस्मै दत्तं, अन्योन्येषां पुष्करैरादृतं
(Māgh) परस्परं ॥

Vart.—In the feminine and neuter, the augment आम् is added option-
ally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्योन्यमिमे ब्राह्मण्यौ
भोजयतः, अन्योन्यं भोजयतः, इतरेतरां भोजयतः, इतरेतरं भोजयतः ॥ अन्योन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः,
इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुलं भोजयतः ॥

अकृच्छ्रे प्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कृच्छ्रे, प्रिय, सुखयोः,
अन्यतरेत्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रियं सुखं इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यां द्वं भवतः अकृच्छ्रे शोले ॥

13. The words ‘priya’ and ‘sukha’ are repeated op-
tionally, when they mean “easily, without any difficulty”.

The word कृच्छ्र means ‘difficulty and sorrow’, अकृच्छ्र means ‘without
difficulty or sorrow, i. e. pleasantly’. Thus प्रियमिदं देदति, सुखं सुखेन देदति, or प्रियेण
देदति, सुखेन देदति = अतिप्रियमपि वस्त्रं नायात्तेन देदति ॥ That is, he gives with
pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. Why do we say “when meaning
easily”? Observe प्रियः पुत्रः “beloved son”. सुखी रयः ॥

यथास्वे यथायथम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा स्वे, यथा यथम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यो य आत्मा यद्यश्मदीय तत्तद्यथास्वं तस्मिन् यथायथमिति निपात्यते । यथाशब्दस्य द्विवचनं
नपुंसकलिङ्गता च निपात्यते ॥

14. The word यथायथम् is irregularly formed in the
sense of “respectively, fitly, properly”.

What is one’s own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called
यथास्व ॥ In this sense is formed यथायथम् there being doubling and neuter
gender. It is an Indeclinable. As ज्ञाताः सर्वे पदार्था यथायथम् = यथास्वभावं “all ob-
jects have been known according to their respective nature”. सर्वेषां तु यथायथं =
यथास्मीत्येव ॥

द्वन्द्वं रहस्यमर्यादावचनव्युत्क्रमणयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥
द्वन्द्वम्, रहस्यम्, मर्यादा वचनम्, व्युत्क्रमणम्, यज्ञ पात्र प्रयोगः, अभि व्यक्तिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रमिति द्विशब्दस्य विर्वचनं पूर्वपदस्याम्भावः अत्वं चोत्तरपदस्य निपात्यते रहस्य मर्यादावचनं व्युत्क्रमण यज्ञपात्र प्रयोग अभिव्यक्ति एतेषु अर्थेषु ॥

15. The word "dvandvam" is irregularly formed, in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a 'limit', 'a separation', 'employing in a sacrificial vessel', and 'manifestation'.

The word इन्द्रं is formed from द्वि by doubling it, changing the first द्वि into अम्, and the second द्वि into अ ॥ The word इन्द्र itself means रहस्य or secret; while it marks 'limit' मर्यादा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus इन्द्रं मन्त्रयन्ते 'they are consulting some secret'. Limit or मर्यादावचनः, as—आचतुरे हीने पशवो इन्द्रं नियुनायन्ते = माता पुत्रेण नियुनं गच्छति, पौत्रेण, तत्पुत्रेणापि ॥ (See Maitr. S. I. 7. 3 Śāṅkh. Br. III. 97). Separation of व्युत्क्रमणः—इन्द्रव्युत्क्रान्ताः = द्विवर्गसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः ॥ Vyutkramana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (यज्ञपात्रप्रयोगः) as—इन्द्रं यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति वीरः (See I. 3. 64) ॥ अभिव्यक्तिः or manifestation : as—इन्द्रं नारदपर्वतो, इन्द्रं संकर्षण बाभ्रुदेवौ = द्वावप्यभिव्यक्तौ साहचर्येण ॥

The word इन्द्रं is found employed in connection with other senses also; as, इन्द्रं युद्धं वर्णते, इन्द्रानि सहते धीरः, चार्ये इन्द्रः &c.

पदस्य ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येत्ययमधिकारः प्रागपदान्ताधिकासात् । अदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पदस्येत्येव तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

16. Upto VIII. 3. 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sūtra, the phrase "of a word", or "to the whole of a word".

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55. Whatever we shall treat of here-after, should be understood to apply to a full 'pada' or a completed word. Thus VIII. 2. 23, (संयोगान्तस्य लोपः) teaches "there is elision of the final of what ends in a conjunct consonant". The word पदस्य must be supplied here to complete the sense : viz, of a word which ends in a conjunct consonant, the final is elided. Thus पचन्, यजन्, from पचन्तु and यजन्तु ॥

Why do we say 'of a Pada'? Observe पचन्तौ, यजन्तौ where the तु though sanyogānta is not elided, because the stem is no longer called pada. The force of the Genitive in पदस्य must be construed according to the context, sometimes as sthāna-shashthi i. e. "in the room of the whole pada"; and sometimes as avayava-shashthi i. e. "of a pada-of the portion of a pada".

पदात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादित्ययमधिकारः प्राक्कुत्सने च सुव्यगोवादावित्येतस्माददित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पदादित्येव तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

17. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase "after a pada".

Whatever we shall teach hereafter should be understood to apply to that which comes *after a pada*. Thus the sūtra VIII. 1. 19, teaches "of an āmantrita". The phrase पदान्, must be supplied to complete the sense. That is, "of a pada, which is in the Vocative case, and which comes after another pada, all vowels become anudātta". Thus पचसि हेवुवत् "Cookest thou, O Devadatta". Why do we say, "after a pada"? Observe देवदत्त पचसि ॥ Here Devadatta is not anudātta (VI. 1. 198).

अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, सर्वम्, अ-पाद-आदौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति च सर्वमिति च अपादादाविति च एतच्चयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापादपरिसमाप्ते, रित
उपरं यद्वक्ष्यामः अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादावित्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

18. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase "The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse".

The three words anudāttam "unaccented", śarvam "the whole", and apādādau "not in the beginning of a Pāda of a verse", should be understood to exert a governing influence over all the subsequent sūtras of this chapter, upto its end. Whatever we shall treat of hereafter, must be understood to be wholly unaccented, provided that, it does not stand as the first word of a verse or stanza. Thus VIII. 1. 19, says "of a Vocative". The whole of this sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, viz: "all the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand as the first word of a hemistich"; as पचसि हेवुवत् ॥

Why do we say "when not at the beginning of a hemistich"? Observe अने नियतं रजसं पृथो जनवधूष्यम्, here पृथो though in the Vocative case, is not anudātta, as it stands at the beginning of a Pāda.

Similarly VIII. 1. 21, teaches "वः and नः are the substitutes of युष्माक् in the plural". The present sūtra must be read there to complete the sense, viz, when not at the beginning of a verse. Thus मामेवः स्वं, जनपदो नः स्वम् ॥ But at the beginning of a hemistich, we must have the forms युष्माकं and अस्माकं instead of वः and नः ॥ As,

रुद्रो विश्वेश्वरो देवो युष्माकं कुलदेवता ।

स एव नाथो भगवानस्माकं शत्रुमर्दनः ॥

The word पाद in the sūtra refers both to the hemistiches of the sacred Rik hymns, as well as to secular ślokas.

Q. Why do we employ the word सर्व in the sūtra?

Ans. The word sarvam is used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that a word, which has not acute accent on the first syllable, should also become anudātta. For the word पदान् (VIII. 1. 17) is in the ablative case, and shows that the operation taught in any sūtra governed by it, will be performed on

the *first* syllable, according to the maxim **आदिः परस्य ॥** Therefore, by rule VIII. 1. 28, the word **पचति**, which is acutely accented on the *first* syllable, (because **चप** and **तिप्** are anudatta), will only lose its accent in **देवदत्तः पचति**; but not so the verb **करोति** which is acutely accented in the middle (by the *vikarapa* accent) in **देवदत्तः करोति ॥** But by force of the word **सर्वं**, **करोति** also loses its accent.

Q. This cannot be the reason, for the author indicates by his prohibition in Sūtra VIII. 1. 29, that a verb loses its accent, *where ever* that accent may be. For there is no verb when conjugated in **लृट्** which has acute on the *first* syllable.

Ans. The word 'sarvam' is used to prevent the operation of **अलोऽन्त्यादीधिः**; for where the rule **आदिः परस्य** will not apply there the other will apply: so that, if "sarvam" was not used, the rule would apply to the finals, and not to cases where there were other than initials to be operated upon. Thus the rule VIII. 1. 28 would apply to **कुरुते**: which is finally acute by VI. 1. 186, in **देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ कुरुते**; but not to **देवदत्तः करोति ॥**

Q. No; this cannot be the reason of employing the word 'sarvam' in the sūtra, for the author indicates that the rule is not confined to the *finals*, by the prohibition he makes in favor of **लृट्** in VIII. 1. 51; for there is no verb, when conjugated in *Lrit*, which has acute on the final. All *Lrit* is acute in the middle by VI. 1. 186. So the **अलोऽन्त्यादीधिः** rule does not apply.

Ans. The word 'sarvam' is used for this reason. Had 'sarvam', not been used, then in those cases where there was no other rule to apply, like VIII. 1. 19, there *only* the word would become anudatta. But in cases where another rule also operated, there this anudatta rule would not apply, for then there would be two different sentences. For a thing which is already in existence can be made the subject of a rule ordering certain operations to be performed on it; but not so a thing which will come in existence in future time. Thus the words **वां** and **नै** are ordained as substitutes of *yushmad* and *asmad* by one sentence VIII. 1. 20; while another sentence ordains their anudatta-hood. So here there is separation of sentences (*vākya-bheda*): which is not desirable; for a *vākya bheda* should be avoided, if possible. But by employing the word 'sarvam', this *vākya-bheda* is made tolerable.

Another reason for employing this word is that the substitutes **वां** and **नै** should come in the room of the *whole declined* forms of *yushmad* and *asmad*, with their case-affixes. Had not this word (*sarvam*) been used, then **वां** and **नै** would have replaced only '*yushmad*' and '*asmad*'. Obj. Will not the *anuvritti* of the word '*padasya*', cause the *whole declined word* to be replaced by **वां** and **नै**, not only the crude-forms *yushmad* and *asmad*? And there cannot be a full word unless it takes case-affixes; so the *whole* of *yushmad* and *asmad* with their case-affixes will be replaced. Where is the necessity of using the word 'sar-

yam? Ans. This objection will apply to those cases where a Pada is a word ending in a case-affix. But the word पद is a technical term also, and applies to crude forms before certain case-affixes. Thus a nominal stem (not a full word) is also called Pada by I. 4. 17, before non-sarvanamasthana case-affixes. Therefore yushmad and asmad will be pada before those affixes. Thus before the affix of Dative Dual, they will be called Pada; and had सर्व not been used, then only "yushmad" and "asmad" will be replaced and not their case-affixes. Thus आनो वां दीयते, जनपदो नौ दधीते ॥ Here वां and नौ would require after them the case-affix भ्यां otherwise.

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य पदस्य पदात्परस्यापादादौ वर्तमानस्य सर्वस्यानुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समान वाक्ये निघात युष्मद् स्मदादेशा वक्तव्याः ॥

19. All the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand at the beginning of a hemistich.

Thus पचसि देवदत्त, पचसि शुद्धदत्त ॥ The Vocative is acutely accented on the first by VI. 1. 198, the present makes it all unaccented.

Vart.—The rules relating to nighāta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as the present, and VIII. 1. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighāta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. Therefore not here:—अयं दण्डो, हरामेन ॥ "This is the staff. Carry by means of it." Here हर does not lose its accent by VIII. 1. 28, though preceded by the Noun danda, because these are parts of two different sentences. ओदनं पच, तव भविष्यति । ओदनं पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ "Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food, it will be for me." That is the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. 1. 22) for yushmad and asmad, for the same reason.

Another example is, भवतीह विष्णुमित्रो, देवदत्तागच्छ "Vishnumitra is here. Come back Devadatta." Here Devadatta, though in the Vocative case, does not lose its accent. Nor can you say that समर्थः पदविधिः will make this vartika redundant. In all the above examples, the different sentences are connected with each other in sense. Thus in the last example, Devadatta was searching for Vishnumitra, when some one says to him, 'Here is V. come back D.' Thus the two sentences are samartha, yet there is no nighāta. But the rule will apply here:—इह देवदत्त ! माता ते कथयति । नद्यास्तिष्ठति (VIII. 1. 28) कूलं । शालीनां ते ओदनं दास्यामि ॥ In the last examples the Vocatives, the verbs and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the nighāta rule &c does apply: in spite of the general maxim समर्थः पदविधिः (II. 1. 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.

In the last example, the construction is इह स्थिता माता ते देवदत्त, and not इह देवदत्त. Thus इह is in syntactical construction with स्थिता and not देवदत्त, yet it causes nighâta of Devadatta. Similarly in नद्यास्तिष्ठति कूलं, the word नद्याः is not in construction with तिष्ठति, but with कूलं, i.e. नद्याः कूलं तिष्ठति; yet it causes the nighâta of तिष्ठति ॥ Similarly शालीनां is not in construction with ते, but with ओदनं, i. e. शालीनां ओदनं ते दास्यामि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence,

युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्ययोर्वाच्चावौ ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अस्मदोः, षष्ठी, चतुर्थी, द्वितीयास्ययोः, वाम्, नावौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद् इत्येतयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्ययोर्वाचासंख्यं वाचौ इत्येतावादेशौ भवतस्तौ चा-
नुदात्तौ ॥

20. For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वाम् and नौ respectively, when a word precedes, and these substitutes are anudâta.

All the three sūtras पदस्य, पदान् and अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ are applicable here. Thus मामो वां स्वम् । जनपदो नौ स्वम् । मामो वां दीयते । जनपदो नौ दीयते । मामो वां पश्यति । जनपदो नौ पश्यति ॥

These two वाम् and नौ come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sūtras.

Why do we say "for the Genitive, Dative and Accusative"? In other cases there will be no substitution. As, मामो युष्मभ्यां कृतम् ॥ The word स्थ in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: इति युष्मत्पुत्रः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case yet वः substitution (VIII. 1. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided,

बहुवचनस्य वस्त्वसौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचनस्य, वस्, तसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचनान्तयोर्युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्ययोर्वाचासंख्यं वस् नस् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

21. For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted वस् and तस् respectively, (when a word precedes, and these substitutes are anudâta).

Thus मामो वः स्वम्, जनपदो वः स्वम्; मामो वो दीयते, जनपदो वो दीयते; मामो वः पश्यति जनपदो वः पश्यति ॥

तेभ्यः एकवचनस्य २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, मयौ, एक, वचनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदेकवचनान्तयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्ययोर्वाचासंख्यं ते मे इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

22. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and these are anudâta).

Thus मामस्ते स्वम्, मामो मे स्वम्, मामस्ते दीयते, मामो मे दीयते ॥ For the Accusative singular, other substitutes have been taught in the next sūtra, hence ते and मे come only in Genitive and Dative.

त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वा, मौ, द्वितीयायाः ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ एकवचनस्येति वर्त्तते । द्वितीयाया यदकवचनं तदन्तयोर्गुणदस्मदस्मदोर्वासासंख्यत्वा ना इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

23. For the Accusative Singular of yushmad and asmad are substituted त्वा and मा respectively, under the same circumstances.

The word एकवचनस्य is understood here. Thus मामस्त्वा पश्यति, मामो मा पश्यति ॥

न चवाहाहैवयुक्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, च, वा, ह, अह, एव, युक्ते ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ न वा ह अह एव एभिर्योगे युष्मदस्मदोर्वाजावादयो न भवन्ति ॥

24. The above substitutions do not take place when there is in connection with the pronouns any of these:—
न, 'and' वा, 'or' ह, 'oh! अह 'wonderful', or एव 'only'.

Thus मामस्तव न स्वम्, मामो मम न स्वम् ॥

युवयोश्च स्वम् । आवयोश्च स्वम् । युष्माकं च स्वम् । अस्माकं च स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यं च दीयते । मामो मह्यं च दीयते । युवाभ्यां च दीयते । आवाभ्यां च दीयते । युष्मभ्यं च दीयते । अस्मभ्यं च दीयते । मामस्त्वां च पश्यति । मामो मां च पश्यति । युवां च पश्यति । आवां च पश्यति । युष्मांश्च पश्यति । अस्मांश्च पश्यति ॥ वा । मामस्तव वा स्वम् । मामो मम वा स्वम् । युवयोर्वा स्वम् । आवयोर्वा स्वम् । युष्माकं वा स्वम् । अस्माकं वा स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यं वा दीयते । मामो मह्यं वा दीयते । युवाभ्यां वा दीयते । आवाभ्यां वा दीयते । युष्मभ्यं वा दीयते । अस्मभ्यं वा दीयते । मामस्त्वां वा पश्यति । मामो मां वा पश्यति । युवां वा पश्यति । आवां वा पश्यति । युष्मान् वा पश्यति । अस्मान् वा पश्यति । ह । मामस्तव ह स्वम् । मामो मम ह स्वम् । युवयोर्ह स्वम् । आवयोर्ह स्वम् । युष्माकं ह स्वम् । अस्माकं ह स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यं ह दीयते । मामो मह्यं ह दीयते । युवाभ्यां ह दीयते । आवाभ्यां ह दीयते । युष्मभ्यं ह दीयते । अस्मभ्यं ह दीयते । मामस्त्वां ह पश्यति । मामो मां ह पश्यति । युवां ह पश्यति । आवां ह पश्यति । युष्मान् ह पश्यति । अस्मान् ह पश्यति । अह । मामस्तवाह स्वम् । मामो ममाह स्वम् । युवयोराह स्वम् । आवयोराह स्वम् । युष्माकमाह स्वम् । अस्माकमाह स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यमाह दीयते । मामो मह्यमाह दीयते । युवाभ्यामाह दीयते । आवाभ्यामाह दीयते । युष्मभ्यमाह दीयते । अस्मभ्यमाह दीयते । मामस्त्वामह पश्यति । मामो मामह पश्यति । युक्तामह पश्यति । आवामह पश्यति । युष्मानह पश्यति । अस्मानह पश्यति । एव । मामस्तवेव स्वम् । मामो ममेव स्वम् । युवयोरेव स्वम् । आवयोरेव स्वम् । युष्माकमेव स्वम् । अस्माकमेव स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यमेव दीयते । मामो मह्यमेव दीयते । युवाभ्यामेव दीयते । आवाभ्यामेव दीयते । युष्मभ्यमेव दीयते । अस्मभ्यमेव दीयते । मामस्त्वामेव पश्यति । मामो मामेव पश्यति । युक्तामेव पश्यति । आवामेव पश्यति । युष्मानेव पश्यति । अस्मानेव पश्यति । युक्तमहणं साक्षाद्योगप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । युक्तयुक्तं प्रतिषेधो न भवति । मामश्च ते स्वम् । नगरं च मे स्वम् ।

The word युक्त is employed in the sūtra to indicate direct conjunction. There is, therefore, where the conjunction is not direct but intermediate the employment of the shorter forms. As मामश्च ते स्वं, नगरं च मे स्वम् ॥

The particles च, वा, & c denote conjunction, 'separation' 'wonder'

&c. Where the sense of 'conjunction,' 'separation' &c are inherent in the pronouns yushmad and asmad, and these particles are employed to manifest that sense, there the present sūtra will apply its prohibition.

पदार्थैश्चानालोचने ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पश्य, अर्थः, च, अनालोचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पश्यार्था दर्शनार्थाः । दर्शनं ज्ञानम् । आलोचनं चक्षुर्विज्ञानम् । तेः पदार्थैरनालोचने वर्तमानैरुक्तं युष्मदस्मादावाद्यो न भवन्ति ॥

25. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of "seeing", when physical seeing is not denoted.

The word पदार्थाः is equivalent to दर्शनार्थाः, and दर्शनं means 'knowledge', i.e. verbs denoting 'to know', आलोचनं means perception obtained through sight i.e. physical 'seeing' opposed to metaphorical "seeing" = "knowing". The substitutions of वां and नौ &c. for युष्मद् and अस्मद् do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting 'seeing' (metaphorically) but not 'looking' (physically).

Thus मामस्तव स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः, मामौ मम स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः; मामस्तुभ्य दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः, मामौ मह्य दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः; मामस्त्वां समीक्ष्यागतः, मामौ मां समीक्ष्यागतः ॥

Why do we say when not meaning 'to look'? Observe मामस्तवा पश्यति, मामौ ना पश्यति ॥

Ishti:—With regard to verbs of "seeing", the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct: as, we have already illustrated above.

सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स पूर्वायाः, प्रथमायाः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यमानपूर्वाप्रथमान्तात्पशदुत्तरयोर्युष्मदस्मादाविभाषा वाज्जिवाद्यो न भवन्ति ॥

वाक्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदस्मादौ विभाषा अनन्वदिश इतिवक्तव्य ॥

वा० ॥ सर्व एव वाज्जिवाद्योऽन्वदिश विभाषा वक्तव्यः ॥

26. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative, which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally.

Thus मामि कम्बलस्ते स्वं or मामि कम्बलस्तवस्वं ॥ मामि कम्बलो मे स्वं ॥ मामि कम्बलो मम स्वं ॥ मामि कम्बलस्ते दीयते ॥ मामि कम्बलस्तुभ्य दीयते ॥ मामि कम्बलो मे दीयते ॥ मामि कम्बलो मह्य दीयते ॥ मामि छात्रास्त्वा पश्यन्ति ॥ मामि छात्रास्त्वां पश्यन्ति ॥ मामि छात्रा मां पश्यन्ति ॥ मामि छात्रा मम पश्यन्ति ॥

Why do we say "which itself is preceded by another word"? Observe कम्बलस्ते स्वं, कम्बलो मे स्वं ॥

Why do we say "after a Nominative"? Observe कम्बलो मामि ते स्वं, कम्बलो मामि मे स्वं ॥

Vart:—The option herein taught is restricted to युष्मद् and अस्मद् when not employed in anvādēśa. But when there is anvādēśa, then the substitution is

compulsory and not optional. This *vārtika* restricts the scope of the *sūtra*, and makes it a *vyavasthita vibhāṣā*. Therefore, there is no option here, where there is *anvādeśa*:—अथो ग्रामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अथो ग्रामे कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥

Vārt:—Others say, that the substitutes वां, नौ &c are *all* optional, when not employed in *anvādeśa*, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not. Thus the rules 20, 21, 22, 23 are optional. As: कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or कम्बलस्तव स्वम्, कम्बलो मे स्वम् or कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ Why do we say "when not in *anvādeśa*"? Observe अथो कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अथो कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥ Q. If this is so, where is the necessity of the present *sūtra* at all? Ans. The present *sūtra* is for the sake of *anvādeśa*: i.e. the option taught in the present *sūtra* will take place only then, when there is *anvādeśa* and not otherwise; thus अथो ग्रामे कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or अथो ग्रामे कम्बलस्तव स्वम्, अथो ग्रामे कम्बलो मे स्वम्, or अथो ग्रामे कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ In other words, according to this *vārtika*, rules 20, 21, 22 and 23 are all *optional* in *anvādeśa*, but *compulsory* where is no *anvādeśa*; but when the pronoun is preceded by a nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above rules are not *compulsory*, even in *anvādeśa*: there also the option will apply.

तिङो गोत्रादीनि कुत्सनाभीक्ष्ण्ययोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङः, गोत्रादीनि, कुत्सन, आभीक्ष्ण्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङन्तात्पराणि गोत्रादीनि कुत्सने आभीक्ष्ण्ये चार्थे वर्तनानानि अनुशात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

27. The words गोत्र &c, become unaccented after a finite verb, when a contempt or a repetition is intended.

Thus पचति गोत्रम्, जल्पति गोत्रम्, when contempt is meant.

Here पचति गोत्रम् means 'he proclaims his Gotra &c, so that he may get food &c'. पचति is from the root पचि व्यक्तिकरणे 'to make evident' (Bhu. 184). Similarly जल्पति गोत्रम्, "he repeatedly utters, his descent &c, in order to get married &c". Where contempt is not meant, it has the force of repetition, i.e. he repeatedly utters his Gotra as one is bound to do, in marriage-rites &c. And पचति पचति गोत्रम्, जल्पति जल्पति गोत्रम् when repetition or intensity is denoted. Similarly वृत्तिः वृत्तिः, वृत्तिः वृत्तिः ॥ The word वृत्तिः is a noun derived from the root वृ by the affix कन्, the वच् substitution for वृ has not taken place, as an anomaly.

1 गोत्र, 2 वृत्ति, 3 प्रवचन, 4 प्रहसन, 5 प्रकथन, 6 प्रत्ययन, 7 प्रपञ्च, 8 प्राय, 9 न्याय, 10 प्र-
चक्षण, 11 विचक्षण, 12 अवचक्षण, 13 स्वाध्याय, 14 भूयिष्ठ, 15 वा नाम (नाम वा) 16 प्रशयन,
17 प्रयजन,

The word नाम optionally becomes *anudatta*: in the alternative, it is first-acute. Thus पचति नाम् or पचति नाम ॥

Why do we say 'after a finite verb'? Observe कुस्वितं गोत्रम् ॥

Why do we say "Gotra and the rest"? Observe पचति पापम् ॥ Here पापं is an adverb

Why do we say 'when contempt or repetition is meant'? Observe खनति गोत्रं समेत्य कूपं ॥ "He digs a well having assembled the Gotra".

The words 'contempt and repetition' in the text qualify the whole sentence or sūtra, and not the word गोत्रादि nor the word अनुदात्त understood. For we find that wherever the word गोत्रादि is used in this Chapter, it always implies the sense of 'contempt or repetition'. Thus the word गोत्रादि is used in VIII. 1. 57 and there also the sense is of contempt and repetition.

तिङ्ङतिङः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्, अतिङः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङन्तं पदमतिङन्तात्पश्यात्पदमनुदात्तं भवति ॥

28. A finite verb is unaccented, when a word precedes it, which is not a finite verb.

Thus देवदत्तः पचति ॥ Why do we say "a finite verb"? Observe नीलशुक्लं लघु, शुक्लं वस्त्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'when the preceding word is not a finite verb'? Observe भवति पचति 'the act of cooking exists' = पाक क्रिया भवति ॥ Here the word भवति is a finite verb, therefore the verb pachati does not lose its accent. So also त्वनिरिङ् जयति, क्षति, पुष्यति 'successful he conquers, rules, thrives'. अस्मैर्था ज्ञेयि र्यैस्तिच "for us conquer and fight". The word अतिङः is in one sense redundant, because in one simple sentence, two finite verbs cannot be employed; one sentence consists of one finite verb only. But the very fact of this sūtra indicates that the condition of समानवाक्य does not apply to this sūtra; so that the two words need not be portions of the same sentence, for the application of this nighāta: as we have already explained in VIII. 1. 19. Other examples are: अग्निमीडे पुरोहितं (Rv. I. 1. 1). स इददेवेषु शुच्छति (Rv. I. 1. 4). अग्ने सृपायर्नो भव (Rv. V. 1. 1), यजमानस्य पशून् प्राहि ॥

न लुङ् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व्यणातिप्रसक्ते प्रतिषेध आरभ्यते । लुङन्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

29. But the Periphrastic Future is not unaccented, when it is preceded by a word which is not a finite verb.

This restricts the scope of the last sūtra which was rather too wide. Thus इवः कर्त्ता, इवः कर्त्तारौ, मातेन कर्त्तारः ॥ The Sārvadhātuka affixes डा, रौ, रस्, are anudatta after the affix तासि by VI. 1. 186, the whole affix तास् becomes udatta (III. 1. 3) and where the टि portion of तास् i. e. the syllable आन्, is elided before the affix डा, there also the आ of डा becomes udatta, because the udatta has been elided. See VI. 1. 161.

निपातैर्यदिहन्तकुवित्रेच्चैचणकश्चिद्यत्रयुक्तम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातैः, यद्, यदि, हन्त, कु वित्, नेत्, चेत्, चण, कश्चित्, यत्र, युक्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेति वर्त्तते । यत् यदि हन्त कुवित् नेत् चेत् चण कश्चित् यत्र इत्यन्तर्निपातयुक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

30. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with the particles यत्, 'that', 'because', यदि, 'if', हन्त, 'also', 'O!', कुवित्, 'well', नेत्, 'not', चेत्, 'if', च 'if', कश्चित् (interrogative particle, implying 'I hope' or 'I hope not'), and यत्र 'where'.

Thus यत् कुरोति, यत् पचति, यदि कुरोति or यदि पचति, हन्त कुरोति, हन्त पचति, कुवित् कुरोति, कुवित् पचति, नेत् जिह्मायन्यो नरकं पताने (Nir. I. 11), स चेद् भुङ्क्ते, स चेद् अधीते ॥ The particle चण् with the indicative ण् has the force of चेत् ॥ Thus अयं च मरिष्यति = अयं च मरिष्यति ॥ Other examples are स्वम् च सोम नो वैशो जीषातुम् नै मरामहे 'if thou, Soma wiltest us to live, we shall not die' औ च गच्छान् मित्रमेना दधाम " if he will come here, we will make friends with him." इन्द्रश्च घृलयाति नः, नतः पश्चादयं नरान् " If Indra makes us happy &c". This rule does not apply to the च which is a conjunction meaning 'and'. So also: कश्चिद् भुङ्क्ते, कश्चिद् अधीते, यत्र भुङ्क्ते, यत्राधीते ॥

Why do we say "with particles"? Observe यत् कृजति शकटम् = गच्छन् कृजति शकटम् ॥ Here यत् is not a particle, but the Present Participle of the root कृष् 'to go'. It means गच्छन् 'the car creaks while going'. Rule VIII. I. 28 applies here.

Q. Now by the rule of Pratipadokta &c. that यत् should only be taken, which is a Particle; moreover it is read in connection with other Particles like यदि &c, so it must be a Particle. How then can the Present Participle यत् be taken at all? Ans.—This sūtra indicates that the प्रतिपदोक्त rule and the साहचर्य rule do not apply here. Thus the word यावत् formed with the affix वतुप् (V. 2. 39) is also included in the word यावत् of this sūtra. As तावदुषो राधो अस्मभ्यः, रास्व यावत् स्तोतुभ्यो अरदो गृणानाः = यावतोऽश्वान् प्रतीगृणीयात् ॥

Why do we use the word युक्तं " in connection with ". Observe यत् कृ च ते मनो दक्ष दधत् उत्तरम् ॥

Other examples are: यं यत्नं परिभूरसि (Rv. I. 1. 4.) 'what offering thou protectest'. यत्र नः पूर्वं पितरः परियुः 'whither our fathers of old departed'. अद्या घुरीय यदि यातुधानो जैस्मि 'let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer', हन्तेयान् पृथिवीम् विभ्र-जामहे " come on, let us share up this earth ". ब्रह्मा चेद्वस्तम् अग्रहीत् 'if a Brahman has grasped her hand', नेत् त्वा नैपति हुरो अर्धिणा 'that the sun may not burn thee with his beam' उक्थेभिः कुविद् आर्यमन् 'will he come hither for our praises' (Whitney's Grammar, Para 595).

नह प्रत्यारम्भे ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नह, प्रत्यारम्भे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नह इत्येतत् युक्तं प्रत्यारम्भे तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

31. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with नह when employed in the sense of forbidding.

When something urged by one, is rejected insultingly by another, then the reply made by the first tauntingly, with a negation, is pratyārambha. Thus A says to B: "Eat this please". B rejects the offer repeatedly, in anger or jest. Then A in anger or jest says 'No, you will eat'—as नह भोक्ष्यसे ॥ Here भोक्ष्यसे retains its accent, which is acute on the middle, for से becomes accentless as it follows अनुपदेश (VI, 1. 186), and स्य becomes udātta by the प्रत्ययस्वर (III. 1. 3).

Another example is नहाध्येष्यसे 'No, you will study'. Why do we say, 'when asseverative'? Observe नह वै तस्मिन् लोके दक्षिणमिच्छन्ति "Verily in that world they do not wish for fee". Here it is pure negation. तस्मिन् is first acute by किट् accent, लोके is final acute because it is formed by अच् of पचादि (III. 1. 134), दक्षिण is first acute, because it is a Pronoun ending in अ (स्वाङ्गशिदामदन्तानाम् Phit II. 6) and इच्छन्ति is anudātta by VIII. 1. 28,

सत्यं प्रश्ने ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्यम्, प्रश्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यमित्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति प्रश्ने ॥

32. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with सत्य when used in asking a question.

Thus सत्यं भोक्ष्यसे 'Truly will you eat?' सत्यमध्येष्यसे ॥ Why do we say 'in questioning'? Observe सत्यं वक्ष्यामि, नानृतं 'I shall tell the truth, not falsehood', सत्यमिहा इ तं वयमिन्द्रं स्तवाम ॥

अङ्गाप्रातिलोम्ये ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, अप्रातिलोम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्ग इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमप्रातिलोम्ये गम्यमाने नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

33. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with अङ्ग when used in a friendly assertion.

Anything done to injure another is prati-loma, opposite of this is apratiloma, or friendliness. In fact, it is equal to anuloma. Thus अङ्गं वैच 'yes, you may cook'. Here अङ्ग has the force of friendly permission. So also अङ्गं वैच ॥ But when it has the force of pratiloma, we have:—अङ्गं कुर्वी ३ वृषल ॥ इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जालम् "Well, chuckle O sinner! soon wilt thou learn, O coward". Here अङ्ग is used in the sense of censure, for chuckling is a thing not liked by the person: and is pratiloma action: for pluta-vowel see VIII, 2. 96.

हि च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिइत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमप्रातिलोम्ये नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

34. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with हि when used in a friendly assertion.

Thus स हि कुरु, सहि वैच, सहि वैड ॥ Why do we say 'in friendly assertion'? Observe स हि कुरु वृषल । इदानीं ज्ञास्यासि जाल्म ॥

छन्दस्यनेकमपि साकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अनेकम्, अपि, साकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हि चेतिवर्त्तते छन्दसि विषये हियुक्तं तिङन्तं साकाङ्क्षमनेकमपि नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

35. In the Veda, the finite verb retains its accent (but not always), in connection with हि, when it stands in correlation to another verb, even more than one.

That is sometimes one verb, sometimes more than one verb retain their accent. Thus of more than one verb, we have the following example:—अनृतं हि मत्तो वदति। पाप्मा एनं वि पुनति 'Because the drunkard tells falsehood, therefore sin will make him impure: i. e. he does incur sin'. Here both verbs वदति and विपुनति retain their accent: and हि has the force of यत् 'because'. According to Kaiyyata the meaning of this sentence is यस्मान् मत्तोऽनृतं वदति, तस्मादनुतवदनं दोषेण न युज्यते i. e. a drunkard does not incur the sin of telling a falsehood, because he is not in his senses. See Maitr. Sanhita I. 11. 6. As regards one verb in a correlated sentence retaining its accent and the other losing it, we have:—अग्निर्हि पूर्वमुर्वजयन् तमिन्द्रोऽनुवज्रयन् ॥ Here the first retains its accent and the second not. The force of हि is to denote here cause and its effect. So also:—अजा ह्यग्नेरजनिट गर्भान् (or गर्भम्), सा वा अमुदयज् जनितारममे (Taittiriya Samhitā IV. 2. 10, 4). The word अजनिट is first acute, the augment अद् having the accent; while अमुदयन् is all anudatta.

यावद्यथाभ्याम् ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्, यथाभ्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताभ्यां युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

36. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with यावत् and यथा ॥

Thus यावद् भुङ्क्ते, यथाभुङ्क्ते; यावदधीते यथाधीते, देवदत्तः पचति यावत्, देवदत्तः पचति यथा ॥ The meaning is that the verb retains its accent, even when यावत् and यथा follow after it. Another example is यथा चित् कण्वमावनम् ॥ The word आवतम् is the Imperative (लोट्) Second Person Dual of the root भव् ॥ यावत् स्तोतृभ्योऽस्तोतृणानाः ॥ The verb अरद् is Imperfect (लङ्) Second Person singular of the root रद् 'to scratch'. The accent, is on अ (the augment).

पूजायां नानन्तरम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूजायाम्, न, अनन्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताभ्यां युक्तमनन्तरं तिङन्तं पूजायां विषये नानुदात्तं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुदात्तमेव ॥

37. But not so when these particles यावत् and यथा immediately precede the verb and denote 'praise'.

That is, the verb loses its accent, and becomes anudatta. Thus यावत् प्रचति शोभनम्, यथा प्रचति शोभनम्, यावत् करोति चारु ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'praise'? Observe यावद् भुङ्क्ते, यथा भुङ्क्ते ॥

Why do we say 'immediately'? Observe यावद् देवदत्तः प्रचति शोभनम्, यथा देवदत्तः करोति चारु ॥ Here the verbs retain their accent by the last sūtra.

उपसर्गव्यपेतं च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, व्यपेतम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथाभ्यां युक्तं उपसर्गव्यपेतं च पूजायां विषये नानुदात्तं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुदात्तमेव भवति ॥

38. A finite verb loses its accent when it denotes 'praise' and is joined immediately with यावत् and यथा through the intervention of an upasarga or verbal-preposition.

The last sūtra taught that the verb loses its accent when *immediately* preceded by यावत् and यथा ॥ This qualifies the word 'immediately' and teaches that the intervention of a Preposition does not debar immediateness. Thus यथा प्रकरोति चारु, यथा प्रचति शोभनम्, यावत् प्रकरोति चारु, यावत् प्रचति शोभनम् ॥

The word 'immediately' is understood here also. Thus यावद् देवदत्तः प्रचति, शोभनम्, यथा विष्णु मित्रः प्रकरोति चारु ॥ The upasarga प्र has udatta accent. Prof. Bohtlingk's Edition reads the sūtra as व्यपेतं ॥

तुपश्यपश्यताहैः पूजायाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, पश्य, पश्यत, अहैः, पूजायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु पश्य पश्यत अह इत्येतैर्युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

39. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with तु, पश्य, पश्यत, and अह, when meaning 'praise'.

Thus माणवकस्तु भुङ्क्ते शोभनम्; पश्य माणवको भुङ्क्ते शोभनम्, पश्यत माणवको भुङ्क्ते शोभनम्, अह माणवको भुङ्क्ते शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning praise'? Observe, पश्य घृणा धावति ॥

The repetition of the word पूजायाम् here, though its anuvritti could have been supplied from VIII. 1. 37, shows that the negation of that sūtra does not extend here: for the पूजायाम् of that sūtra is connected with two negatives, the न of that sūtra, and the न of VIII. 1. 29, but the पूजायाम् of this sūtra is connected with the general न of VIII. 1. 29 only.

Another example is आदहं स्वधामनु पुनर्गर्भस्वर्मेतुरे ॥

अहो च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अहो, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

40. A finite verb retains its accent when in connection with अहो meaning 'praise'.

Thus अहो देवदत्तः प्रचति शोभनम्, अहो विष्णुमित्रः करोति चारु ॥ The separation

of this अहो from तु &c, of the last sūtra, indicates that the next rule applies to अहो only. Had अहो been joined with तु &c, then Rule VIII. 1. 41, would have applied to तु &c, which is not desired. Hence the making of it a separate sūtra.

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं शेषे विभाषा नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

41. A finite verb retains its accent optionally when in connection with अहो in the remaining cases (i. e. where it does not mean praise).

What is the शेष alluded to here? The शेष means here senses other than पूजा or 'praise'. Thus कटमहो करिष्यसि or कटमहो कर्ष्यसि ॥ This is a speech uttered in anger or envy and not in praise (असूया वचनं) ॥ So also मम गेहमेव्यसि ॥

The word शेष is employed in the sūtra simply for the sake of distinctness; for sūtra 40 applies to cases of पूजा, while this sūtra will give option in cases other than पूजा.

पुरा च परीप्सायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरा, च, परीप्सायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरा इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं परीप्सायामर्थे विभाषा नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

42. A finite verb retains its accent optionally in connection with पुरा when it means 'haste' (i. e. when पुरा means 'before').

The word परीप्सा means स्वरा or 'quick'. Thus अधीष्ट माणवक पुरा विधीयते विशुन्, or पुरा स्ननयति स्ननयिषु ॥ The word पुरा here expresses the future occurrence which is imminent or very near at hand. It is against the rule of Dharmasāstras to study while it thunders or lightens.

Why do we say 'when meaning haste'? Observe नडेन स पुराधीयते ॥ Here the word पुरा expresses a past time; that is, it means "long ago". So also ऊर्णया स पुराधीयते ॥ See III. 2. 118 and 122, for the employment of पुरा in the Past Tense, and III. 3. 4, for the Present.

नन्वित्यनुज्ञैषणायाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ननु, इति, अनुज्ञा, एषणायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननु इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति अनुज्ञैषणायां विषये ॥

43. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with ननु, when with this Particle, permission is asked.

The word एषणा means 'asking, praying'. The word अनुज्ञा means 'permission'. The compound अनुज्ञैषणा means 'asking of permission'. Thus ननु करिष्यामि भोः, "may I do it, sir"; ननु गच्छामि भोः 'can I go sir'. The sense is 'give me permission to do or to go'.

Why do we say when 'asking for' permission'? Observe अकार्षी कदे देवदत्त? ननु कुरांसि भो: 'Devadatta hast thou made the mat? Well, I am making it'. Here ननु has the force of an answering particle, and not used in asking permission and hence the verb loses its accent.

किं क्रियाप्रश्नेनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्रिया-प्रश्ने, अनु-पसर्गम्-अप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमिलेतत्क्रियाप्रश्ने यदा वर्तते तदनेन युक्तं तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

44. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with किम्, when with this is asked a question relating to an action, and when the verb is not preceded by a Preposition or by a Negation.

Thus किं देवदत्तः पचति, आहो स्विद् भुङ्क्ते ॥ किं देवदत्तः शेते, आहो स्विदधीते ॥ Here some say, that the first verb (पचति or शेते) being directly joined with किं retains its accent, whilst the second verb (भुङ्क्ते or अधीते) not being joined with किं, loses its accent by the general rule VIII. 1. 28. Others say, though the word किं is heard in connection with one verb only, yet as both verbs are objects of doubt, therefore, किं is logically connected with both of them, and so both verbs retain their accents. Thus भुङ्क्ते will retain its accent according to this view.

Why do we say when the question relates to a क्रिया or action? The rule will not apply, when the question relates to an object or साधन ॥ Thus किं देवदत्त ओदनं पृच्छति आहोस्विच्छाकं ॥

Why do we say "when a question is asked"? Observe किमधीते देवदत्तः ॥ Here किं is used to express contempt, and not to ask a question.

Why do we say 'not preceded by a Preposition'? Observe किं देवदत्तः प्र पचति आहोस्वित् प्रकरोति ॥

Why do we say "not preceded by a negative particle". Observe, किं देवदत्तो न पठति आहोस्विन् न करोति ॥

लोपे विभाषा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमो लोपे क्रियाप्रश्ने तिङन्तमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं विभाषा नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

45. When however किम् is not added in asking such a question, the finite verb may optionally retain its accent.

When किम् is elided in asking a question relating to an action, the finite verb which is not preceded by a Preposition or a Negative Particle, optionally does not become anudatta. When is there the elision of this किम् because no rule of Pānini has taught it? When the sense is that of an interrogation, but the word किम् is not used. In short, the word 'lopa' here does not mean the Grammatical substitute, but merely non-use. As देवदत्तः पचति (or

प्रचति) आहोस्वित् वैडति (or प्रचति) Here the sentence is interrogative, even without the employment of क्तिम् ॥ The option of this sūtra is a Prāpta-vibhāsha, as it is connected with the sense of क्तिम् ॥ The counter-examples are the same as in the last aphorism, but without क्तिम् ॥

एहिमन्ये प्रहासे लृट् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एहि, मन्ये, प्रहासे, लृट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एहिमन्ये इत्यनेन युक्तं लृङ्गन्तं तिङन्तं नादुवाचं भवति प्रहासे ॥

46. In connection with एहिमन्ये used derisively, the First Future that follows it, retains its accent.

The word प्रहास means great laughter, i.e. derision, mockery, raillery, jeering, gibing, sneering. Thus एहि मन्ये ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे, नहि भोक्ष्यसे, भुक्तः सौप्रतिथिभिः ॥ एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि, नहि यास्यसि, यातव्यं तेन पिता ॥ The word एहि is the Imperative second Person of the root इष् preceded by the preposition आह् ॥

Why do we say "used derisively"? Observe एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये इति; शुभ्रं च मन्यसे, साधु च मन्यसे ॥

By sūtra VIII. 1. 51, *in fra*, after the Imperative एहि which is a verb of 'motion' (गत्यर्थः), the following First Future (लृट्) would have retained its accent. The present sūtra makes a niyama or restriction, namely that in connection with the Imperative एहि मन्ये, the लृट् is accented only then when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. Thus the लृट् loses its accent here:— एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥ The employment of the First Person in मन्ये in the sūtra is not intended to be taught: for by I. 4. 105, the verb मन् (मन्यते) takes the affix of the First Person instead of the second, when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. When प्रहास is not intended, the proper personal affix of the Second Person is employed. The employment of the First Person ceases there also by this restrictive rule. Thus एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥

The above counter example is given according to Kāśika, according to which एहि मन्ये इति उक्तनोपादानमतन्त्रम् ॥ But according to Mahābhāshya, the counter-example is एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि ॥ Here यास्यसि loses its accent. The meaning of the above is रथेन यास्यसि इति अङ्गं मन्ये, एहि ॥ According to Kaiyāta, this would be an example also under the rule, the First Person not being necessary:—एहि मन्यसे रथेन यास्यामि ॥

जात्वपूर्वम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु, अपूर्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु इत्येतद्विद्यमानपूर्वं तेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नादुवाचं भवति ॥

47. A finite verb retains its accent after जातु, when this जातु is not preceded by any other word.

Thus जातु मोक्ष्यसे, जातु अभ्यर्च्यसे, जातु कारिष्यामि । Here से is anudatta by VI. I. 186, as it is an sârvadhâtuka affix coming after an अनुपदेश; the word जातु is first acute, as it is a Nipâta. Why do we say 'when not preceded by any other word'? Observe:—कदे जातु कर्हिष्यति ॥ The word कदे is end-acute as it is a किद् or noun.

किंवृत्तं च चिदुत्तरम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्वृत्तम्, च, चिदुत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमोवृत्तं किंवृत्तं, किंवृत्तमहणेन तद्विभक्तयन्तं प्रतीयाद्भुतरडतमौ च प्रत्ययौ, तत्किंवृत्तं चिदुत्तरमविद्यमानपूर्वं यत्तेन युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुवाचं भवति ॥

48. Also after a form of किम्, when the particle चिद् follows it, and when no other word precedes such form of किम्, the finite verb retains its accent.

The word किम्वृत्तं is a Genitive Tatpuruṣa meaning किमोवृत्तं ॥ The word किम्वृत्तं means any form of किम् with its case-affixes, as well as the forms of किम् when it takes the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम ॥ Thus कभिद् भुङ्क्ते, कभिद् भोजयति, कभिद् अभीते, केनचित् करोति, कस्मै चिद् ईषति, कतराभित् करोति, कतमभिद् भुङ्क्ते ॥

Why do we say 'followed by चिद्'? Observe को भुङ्क्ते ॥

The word अपूर्वं of the last sūtra qualifies this also; therefore, the verb loses its accent here:—देवदत्तः किञ्चित् पृष्टति ॥

आहोउताहो चानन्तरम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहो, उताहो, च, अनन्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघातप्रतिषेधोदुपचते ॥ अपूर्वमिति च ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यामपूर्वाभ्यां युक्तमनन्तरं तिङन्तं नानुवाचं भवति ॥

49. Also after an immediately preceding आहो and उताहो, when these follow after no other word, the verb retains its accent.

The prohibition of *nighâta* or want of accentuation is understood here, so also there is the anuvṛitti of अपूर्वं from the last.

Thus आहो or उताहो भुङ्क्ते, उताहो पठति ॥ Why do we say 'immediately preceding'? In the following sūtra will be taught option, when these particles do not immediately precede the verb.

Why do we say "when no word precedes them"? Observe देवदत्त आहो or उताहो भुङ्क्ते ॥

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यां युक्तं तिङन्तं नानुवाचं शेषे विभाषा भवति ॥ कश्च शेषः यदन्यदनन्तरम् ॥

50. When the above-mentioned Particles आहो and उताहो do not immediately precede the verb, the verb may optionally retain its accent.

Thus आहो देवदत्तः पँचाति or पँचाति ॥ उताहो देवदत्तः पँठाति or पँठाति ॥

गत्यर्थलोटा लृणन्चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-लोटा, लृट्, न, चेत्, कारकम्, सर्व-अन्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भतिना समानार्था गत्यर्थाः; गत्यर्थानां धातूनां लोट् गत्यर्थलोट्; तेन गत्यर्थलोटा युक्तं लृटन्तं तिङन्तं नातुदात्तं भवति, न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

यथैव कारके कर्त्तरि कर्मणि वा लोट् तथैव यदि लृटपि भवतीत्यर्थः । कर्तृकर्मणी एवात्र तिङन्तवाच्य कारकग्रहणेन गृह्यते न करणादि कारकान्तरम् ॥

51. The First Future retains its accent in connection with the Imperative of a verb denoting 'motion' ('to go, 'to come' to start' &c), but only in that case, when the subject and object of both the verbs are not wholly different one from another.

Those verbs which have similar meaning with the word गति 'motion' are called गत्यर्थाः ॥ The Imperative of the गत्यर्थ verbal roots, is called गत्यर्थ-लोट् ॥ In connection with such an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', the First Future does not become anudātta, if the kāraka is not all different. The sense is, with whatever case-relation (kāraka), whether the Subject or Object, the Imperative is employed, with the same kāraka, the First Future must be employed. In connection with the finite verb here, the word कारक denotes the Subject and Object only, and not any other kāraka, such as Instrument, &c.

Thus आगच्छ देवदत्तग्रामं, द्रक्ष्यस्येनम् 'Come O Devadatta to the village, thou shalt see it'. Here the subjects of both verbs आगच्छ and द्रक्ष्यसि are the same, and the objects of both verbs are also the same, namely ग्रामं and एनम् ॥ आ is a Preposition and is accented, गच्छ and देवदत्त both lose their accent by VIII. 1. 19 and 28, ग्राम is first-acute being formed by the निङ् affix मन् ॥ So also आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे "Come, O Devadatta! to the village, you will eat rice". Here the subjects of both verbs are the same, only the objects are different, and so the rule still applies. आहर देवदत्त शालीन्, यज्ञदत्त एतान् भोक्ष्यसे ॥ Here the subjects are different, but the objects are the same, namely शालीन् ॥ Similarly उह्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः, यज्ञदत्तेन भोक्ष्यन्ते "Let the rice be carried by Devadatta, and let them be eaten by Yajñadatta."

Why do we say 'verbs of motion'? Observe पच देवदत्त ओदनं, भोक्ष्यसे एनम् ॥

Why do we say 'After the Imperative'? Observe आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, द्रक्ष्यस्येनम् ॥ Here the Potential mood is used.

Why do we say the 'First Future'? Observe आगच्छ देवदत्त ग्रामं, पद्यसि एनम् ॥ Here the Present Tense is used.

Why do we say 'if the kāraka is not wholly different'? Observe

आगच्छ देवदत्त माम्, पिता ते ओदनं मोक्ष्यते ॥ उद्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः, सक्तवस्तेन प्राप्त्यन्ते ॥ उद्यन्तां is the Imperative of वह् 'to carry'.

Why do we use the word सर्व 'wholly'? Observe आगच्छ देवदत्त माम्, त्वं च अहं च द्रक्ष्याव एनम् ॥ Here also there is prohibition of *nighāta* and the First Future retains its accent, for the subject of the Future is not *wholly* different from that of the Imperative. For here the subject of the Imperative is the subject also of the Future, though only partly, in conjunction with another. Moreover, the object here in both is the same. Had सर्व not been used in the sūtra, where the sentence would have remained the same, there the rule would have applied, and not where the sentences became different.

लोड् च ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोड्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडन्तं तिङन्तं गत्यर्थलोडा युक्तं नाहुदात्तं भवति, न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

52. Also an Imperative, following after an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', retains its accent, when the subject or object of both the verbs, is not wholly different.

Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त माम् पश्य ॥ आब्रज विष्णुमित्र माम् शाधि ॥ आगम्यतां देवदत्तेन मामो दृश्यतां यज्ञवत्तेन ॥

But not here पश्य देवदत्तौदनं, भुङ्क्ष्वेनम् because the first Imperative is not one of गत्यर्थ verb. Nor here, आगच्छदेवदत्त माम् पश्येनम् because the first verb is not Imperative but Potential.

If the subject and object of both Imperatives are wholly different, the rule will not apply. Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त माम्, पश्यतु रामं यज्ञवत्तः ॥

By the force of the anuvritti of सर्व the rule will apply to the following: आगच्छ देवदत्त माम्, त्वं चाहं च पद्यावः ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, by which the 'option' is with regard to लोड् and not लृट् ॥

विभाषितं सोपसर्गमनुत्तमम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, सोपसर्गम्, अनुत्तमम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वं पूर्वमनुवर्त्तते ॥ प्राप्तविभाषेयं, लोडन्तं सोपसर्गशुक्तमवर्जितं गत्यर्थलोडा युक्तं तिङन्तं विभाषितं नाहुदात्तं भवति न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

53. An Imperative preceded by a Preposition, and not in the First Person, following after an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', may optionally retain its accent, when the Kāraka is not wholly different.

The whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here. This is a Prāpta-vibhāṣā. Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त माम् प्रविश or प्रविश ॥ आगच्छ देवदत्त मामप्रशाधि or प्रशाधि ॥ When the verb is accented, the upasarga loses its accent by VIII. I. 71.

Why do we say सोपसर्ग 'joined with a Preposition'? When there is no Preposition, there is no *option* allowed, and the last rule will apply. As आगच्छ देवदत्त मामंपश्य ॥

Why do we say अन्—दत्तम् 'not a First Person'? Observe आ गच्छानि देवदत्त, मामं प्रविशानि ॥

हन्त च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्त, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वं सर्वमनुवर्त्तते गत्यर्थलोदं वर्जयित्वा हन्त इत्यनेन युक्तं लोडन्तं सोपसर्गश्रुतमवर्जितं विभाषितं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

54. An Imperative, with a Preposition preceding it, may optionally retain its accent, in connection with हन्त, but not the First Person.

With the exception of गत्यर्थ लोद &c, the whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here.

Thus हन्त प्र विषु or प्रविश, हन्त प्र शांति or प्रशार्ति ॥ But no option is allowed here हन्त कुर्व, as it is not preceded by a preposition. Here rule VIII. 1. 30, makes the accent compulsory after हन्त ॥ So also हन्त प्रभुर्नैजावहे, हन्त प्रभुर्नैजावहे, where the 1st Person is used, the verb retains its accent compulsorily by VIII. 1. 30.

The word प्रभुर्नैजावहे is Imperative First Person, Dual of the root भुञ्ज in Atmane pada (I. 3. 66). The Personal ending वहे is anudatta by VI. 1. 186, because the verb is anudatta-it. The vikaraṇa न therefore retains its accent.

आम एकान्तरमामन्त्रितमनन्तिके ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, एक-अन्तरम्, आमन्त्रितम्, अनन्तिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम उत्तरमेकपदान्तरमामन्त्रितान्तमनन्तिके नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

55. After आम, but separated from it by not more than one word, the Vocative retains its accent, when the person addressed is not near.

Thus आम पचसि देवदत्ता ३ ; आम भो देवदत्ता ३ ॥ The *nighāta* being hereby prohibited, the vocative gets accent on the first syllable by VI. 1. 198. In the second example, though भो itself is a Vocative, it is not considered to be non-existent by VIII. 1. 72, but becomes effective by virtue of VIII. 1. 73, as it is in apposition with the Vocative that follows.

Why do we say आम? Observe शाक पचसि देवदत्त ॥ Here it is anudatta by VIII. 1. 19.

Why do we say एकान्तरम् 'separated only by one word'? Observe आम प्र पचसि देवदत्ता ३ ॥

Why do we say 'the Vocative'? See आम पचसि देवदत्त ॥

आद् + वस् III. 4. 92 = रोहाव the स् being elided, as लोद् is like लङ् III. 4. 85 and 99). The verb एहि is the 2nd Person Singular of the Imperative of the root इष्, preceded by the Particle आङ् ॥ Here in रोहाव एहि (=रोहाव आइहि), the verb रोहाव is followed by the Particle आ, and does not retain its accent. But for this rule, it would have retained its accent. Because एहि is a गत्यर्थ लोद् (VIII. 1. 51), रोहाव is another लोद् in connection with it, and therefore, by VIII. 1. 52 it would have retained its accent. But now it loses its accent because it is a तिङ् following after a non तिङ् word स्वः ॥ The visarga of स्वः is elided before र् by VIII. 3. 14, then the preceding अ is lengthened and we have स्वा (VI. 3. 111). Another reading is स्वरोहावैहि ॥ It is a Vedic anomaly, the visarga is changed to वा ॥

चनचिद्वगोत्रादितद्धिताभ्रेडितेष्वगतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चन, चित्, इव, गोत्र-
आदि, तद्धित, आभ्रेडितेषु, अगतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन चिद् इव गोत्रादि तद्धित आभ्रेडित इत्येतेषु परतः अगतेस्तत्तरं तिङन्तं नातुशक्तं भवति ॥

57. A finite verb retains its accent, when it is not preceded by a Gati Particle (I. 4. 60 &c), and when it is followed by चन, चिद्, इव, गोत्र &c, a Taddhita affix, or by its own doubled form.

Thus देवदत्तः पचति चन; देवदत्तः पचति चित्, देवदत्तः पचति इव ॥ The list of Gotrâdi words is given under sūtra VIII. 1. 27. Thus देवदत्त पचति गोत्रम्, देवदत्तः पचति ब्रुवम्, देवदत्तः पचति प्रवचनम् &c. The Gotrâdi words, here also, denote censure and contempt.

With a Taddhita affix, देवदत्तः पचति कल्पम्, देवदत्तः पचति रूपम् ॥ The examples should be given with anudatta Taddhita affixes, like रूपम्, कल्पम् (V. 3. 66 and 67). Any other Taddhita affix added to the verb would cause the verb to lose its accent, the Taddhita accent overpowers the verb accent: as पचति देव इव (V. 3. 67).

With a doubled verb, as; देवदत्तः पचति पचति ॥

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a Participle called Gati'? Observe देवदत्तः प्र पचति चन ॥ The word गति in this sūtra as well as in सगतिरपि तिङ् (VIII. 1. 68) should be taken in its restricted sense, namely upasargas treated as Gati, and not the extended definition of Gati as given in I. 4. 61. Therefore the verb retains its accent here: शुक्लीकरोति चन, यत् काष्ठं शुक्लीकरोति, यत् काष्ठं कृष्णीकरोति ॥

According to others, throughout this Book Eighth, the word Gati means, the Upasarga Gati.

चादिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, आदिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादिषु च परतः तिङन्तमगतेः परं नातुशक्तं भवति ॥

58. A finite verb, not preceded by a gati, retains its accent before the Particles च (चा, ह, अह and एव VIII.1. 24).

वे has the force of स्फुट and क्षमा, and वाक् that of प्रसिद्धि and स्फुट ॥

एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अन्याभ्याम्, समर्थाभ्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक अन्य इत्येताभ्यां समर्थाभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुशासना भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

65. Also in connection with एक and अन्य, optionally in the Chhandas, the first verb retains its accent, when these words have the same meaning ('the one—the other').

Thus प्रजमेका जिन्वति (or जिन्वति), ऊर्जमकारसति ॥ तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाह्वेति (or वृत्तिः), अनमन्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति (Rig Veda I. 164. 20, Mundaka Upanishad III. 1):

Why do we say समर्थाभ्यां 'having the same meaning'? See एको देवानुपातिष्ठत् ॥ Here एक is a Numeral and has not the sense of अन्य 'the one another'. The word समर्थ is used, in fact, to restrict the meaning of एक, for it has various meanings: while there is no ambiguity about the word अन्य ॥ एकोऽन्यार्थे प्रधाने च प्रथमे केवले तथा । साधारणे समानेऽल्पे संख्यायां च प्रयुज्यते ॥

यद्वृत्ताभित्यम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत्, वृत्तात्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमा छन्दसीति निवृत्तं, निपातप्रतिषेध इत्येव ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यथाकाम्ये वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. In connection with यद् in all its forms, the verb retains its accent always.

The anuvṛtti of प्रथमा and छन्दसि ceases. The prohibition of nighāta, which commenced with न लृट् (VIII. 1. 29) is present here also. In what ever sentence the word यद् occurs, that is called यद्वृत्तं ॥ The word वृत्तं denotes here the form of यद् in all its declensions with case affixes. According to Kāśikā, उत्तर and उत्तम are not included, according to Pāṇjali they should be included. See also the explanation of किवृत्तं in VIII. 1. 48.

Thus यो भुङ्क्ते, य भोजयति, येन भुङ्क्ते, यस्मै वशति, यत् कामास्ते जुहुमः (Rig Veda X. 121. 10) यद्रपद् वायुर्वीति (T. S. V. 5. 1. 1.) यद् वायुः पर्वते ॥ For the form यद्रपद् see VI. 3. 92. Though the sūtra is in the Ablative (यद्वृत्तात्) and therefore requires that the verb should *im-mediately* follow it, yet in यद्रपद् वायु र्वीति, the intervention of वायुः does not prevent the operation of this rule, according to the opinion of Pāṇjali.

Vart:—Optionally when the sense is that of 'wheresoever' or 'whensoever'. The word याथाकाम्यं means यथेच्छं 'as one wishes', without regard of time or space. The nighāta is prohibited here also. As यत्र क्व चन यजते तद् देवयजन एव यजते ॥

पूजनात्पूजितमनुदात्तं काष्ठादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूजनात्, पूजितम्, अनुदात्तम्, काष्ठादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्य उत्तरपदं पूजितमनुदात्तं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मलोपश्च ॥

67. After a word denoting praise belonging to काष्ठादि class, the word whose praise is denoted, becomes aundâtta.

This refers to compounds, the first members of which are praise-denoting words. The word काष्ठादिभ्यः, is added to the sūtra from a Vārtika.

Thus काष्ठाध्यापकः, काष्ठाभिरूपकः, शरणाध्यापकः, शरणाभिरूपकः ॥

अमातापुत्र । अमातापुत्राध्यापकः । अमातापुत्राभिरूपकः । अयुताध्यापकः । अयुताभिरूपकः । अद्भुत । अद्भुताध्यापकः । अनुक्त । अनुक्ताध्यापकः । भृश । भृशाध्यापकः । घोर । घोराध्यापकः । सुखः । सुखाध्यापकः । परम । परमाध्यापकः । सु । सुध्यापकः । अति । अत्यध्यापकः । द्यौः । द्यौरध्यापकः । द्यौः-भिरूपकः । स्वध्यापकः । अपुत्र । अपुत्राध्यापकः । कल्याण । कल्याणाध्यापकः ॥

Vārt:—The final *म्* should be elided in forming these words. The word शरणे is an adverb, and therefore in the accusative case, like घामे गतः ॥ In such a case, there can be no compounding: hence the elision of *म्* is taught. This is the opinion of Vārtika—kāra Kātyāyana. According to Kāśikā, there is compounding under मयूर व्यंतकादि rule, and so *म्* is elided by the general rule of samāsa. This becoming of अनुशक्त takes place in the compound, and after composition. In fact, it is an exception to the general rule by which a compound is *finally* acute (VI. I. 223) But there is no elision in शरणमध्यापकः &c. and there is no loss of accent also of the second word. By the Vārtika 'मलोपश्च', this further fact is also denoted, where the case-affix is not employed and so the *म्* is not heard, there the second member becomes anudātta. When there is no compounding, there is no elision of *म्* as शरणमधीति, शरणमध्यापकः ॥

Though the word पूजन would have implied its correlative term पूजित, the specific mention of पूजित in the aphorism indicates, that the word denoting पूजित should follow *immediately* after the word denoting पूजन ॥ In fact, this peculiar construction of the sūtra, is a jñāpaka of the existence of the following rule:—इह प्रकरणे पञ्चमी निर्देशोऽपि नानन्तर्यमाधीयते "In this subdivision or context, though a word may be exhibited in the Ablative case, it does not follow that there should be consecutiveness between the Ablative and the word indicated by it". This has been illustrated in the previous rule of यद्वृत्तान् नित्यम्, in explaining forms like यद्रपद् वायुर्वति &c.

Though the anuvṛitti of 'anudātta' was current, the express employment of this term in the sūtra indicates that the *prohibition* (of anudātta) which also was current, now ceases.

On this subject, the following extract from the Commentary on Siddhānta-Kaumudī, will give the view of later Grammarians:—The words काष्ठ &c, are all synonyms of अद्भुत, meaning *wonderful*, *prodigious*: and are words denoting *praise*. This is an aphorism appertaining to samāsa subject. In the examples the compounding takes place under the rule of Mayura-vyansakādi.

Vart.—The elision of **म्** should be mentioned. **दारुणम् + अध्यापकः**, in making the compound of these two words, the elision of the case affix, in this case **म्**, is natural. The *vātika*, therefore, teaches nothing new, but only repeats this general rule in a particular form. This is the opinion of the authors of *Kāśikā*. But according to Kayyata, the commentator on the Great *Bhāṣya*, this aphorism is not a *samāsa* rule: and the words **दारुणम्** &c, are adverbs not admitting of *samāsa*; and so the rule applies to these words when they are not compounded. There is no authority for holding these to be compounds under the *Mayuravyansakādi* class. *Haradatta* also says, had this been intended to be a *samāsa* rule, the word **समासे** would have been used in the *sūtra* and this is valid. There is no *adhikāra* of *samāsa* here, that could have caused *samāsa* and in this view, the *vātika* **मलोपश्च** also becomes effective: had it been a *samāsa* rule, the *vātika* would have been redundant.

1 काष्ठ, 2 दारुण, 3 अनातापुत्र, 4 वेश, 5 अनाज्ञात, 6 अनुज्ञात, 7 अपुत्र, 8 अयुत, 9 अशुत, 10 अनुक्त, 11 भूष, 12 वार, 13 मुख्य, 14 परम, 15 सु, 16 अति, 17 कल्याण

सगतिरपि तिङ् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, गतिः, अपि, तिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सगतिरपि पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्यः परं पूजितं तिङन्तमनुशासं भवति ॥

68. (After such words denoting praise) the finite verb (which is praised) becomes *anudatta*, even along with the *Gati*, if any, that may precede it.

Whether a finite verb is compounded with a *gati* or stands single, both the compound and the simple verb lose their accent, when it is qualified by the adverbs **काष्ठ** &c. Thus **यन् काष्ठं पृच्छति, यन् काष्ठं प्रपृच्छति ॥** By VIII. 1. 28, the finite verb would have lost its accent after the word **काष्ठ**, but this loss was prohibited by VIII. 1. 30 in connection with **यन्**; the present *sūtra* re-ordains the loss, by setting aside the prohibition of VIII. 1. 30.

The word **सगति** 'along with its *Gati*', indicates that the *Gati* even loses its accent. The word *Gati* here is restricted to *Upasargas*. Therefore not here **यन् काष्ठं शुद्धी करोति, यन् काष्ठं कृष्णी करोति ॥**

The word **तिङ्** is used in the *sūtra* to indicate that the words qualified by **काष्ठ** &c in the preceding *sūtra*, were non **तिङ्** words—i. e. were substantives. The rule of **मलोपश्च** of that *sūtra*, therefore, does not apply here.

कुत्सने च सुप्यगोत्रादौ ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सने, च, सुपि, अगोत्रादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादिति निवृत्तम् ॥ सगतिरपि तिङिति वर्त्तते ॥ कुत्सने च सुबन्ते गोत्रादिवर्जिते परतः सगतिरपि तिङ् अगतिरप्यनुशासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाकुत्सने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूतिश्च चानुबन्धो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ विभाषितं चापि बह्वर्थमनुशासं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā सुपि कुत्सने क्रियाया मलोप इदोऽ तिङीति चोक्तार्थे ।

पूतिश्च चानुबन्धो विभाषितं चापि बह्वर्थम् ॥

69. A finite verb, along with its preceding *Gati*, if any, becomes *anudatta*, when a Noun, denoting the fault of the action, follows, with the exception of **गोत्र** &c.

The anuvṛitti of पदान् (VIII. 1. 17) ceases. But the anuvṛitti of the last sūtra is current. Thus पृच्छति पूति, प्रपृच्छति पूति, पृच्छति मिथ्या, प्रपृच्छति मिथ्या ॥

Why do we say कुत्सेन 'denoting the fault of the action'? See पृच्छति शो-
भनम् ॥

Why do we say सुवि 'a noun'? Observe पृच्छति क्लिदनाति ॥

Why do we say with the exception of गान् &c. See पृच्छति गानम्, पृच्छति
सुवम्, पृच्छति प्रवचनम् ॥

Vārti: It should be mentioned that the 'fault' mentioned in the sūtra, must be the fault relating to the mode of doing the action, denoted by the verb. The rule will not apply, if the कुत्सेन refers to the agent and not to the action. Thus पृच्छति पूतिदेवदत्तः, प्रपृच्छति पूतिः ॥

Vārti: It should be stated that पूति has an indicatory च ॥ The effect of this is that the word पूति is finally acute, because of the indicatory च ॥ The word पूति is not a क्तिन् formed word, because it is not feminine, as we find it in sentences like पूतिरयम्; nor is it a word formed by क्तिच् affix, because this is not a संज्ञा word; therefore, it is a word without a derivation. Therefore by प्रातिपदिक स्वर (Phit I. 1) it will be end-acute. The *vārtika*, therefore, indicates that when पूति causes the loss of accent of the verb, then it is end-acute, but in other cases it is acute on the beginning. According to Padamanjari, पूति is derived from पू by adding the Uṇādi affix तिप् diversely (Uṇ IV. 180), and is first acute.

Vārti: A finite verb in the plural number, loses its accent optionally: when it loses its accent, then पूति is end-acute. Thus पृच्छन्ति पूतिः, or पृच्छन्ति पूतिः, प्रपृच्छन्ति पूतिः or प्रपृच्छन्ति पूतिः ॥

Kārikā. The following noun denoting fault must refer to the action. The elision of म् is intended only in the case of non-verbs, because it is so said by those of old. The word पूति has an indicatory च, but it is optionally so when the verb is plural. The elision of म् mentioned above refers to the elision of म् in दारुणम्-अध्यापकः = दारुणाध्यापकः ॥ The words उक्तार्थम् mean आचार्यपरंपराकथित-प्रयोजनमेतदित्यर्थः ॥

गतिर्गतौ ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, गतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिर्गतौ परतोऽनुदात्तो भवति ॥

70. A Gati becomes unaccented, when followed by another Gati.

Thus मन्त्रैर्हरति, सुबुद्धीनयति, अभिसंपृच्छति हरति ॥ Why do we say गतिः "a Gati becomes &c"? Observe देवदत्तः प्रपृच्छति ॥ Here देवदत्त is a Prātipadika and does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gati'? Observe आ मन्त्रैरिन्द्र हरिभि र्याहि मयूर रोमभिः ॥ Here आ is a Gati to the verb याहि, the complete verb is आयाहि ॥ But as आ is not followed by a Gati, but by a Prātipadika मन्त्र, it retains its accent. Had the word गतौ not been used in the sūtra, this आ would have lost its accent, because the rule would have been too wide, without any restriction of what followed it.

तिङि चोदात्तवति ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङि, च, उदात्तवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिरिति वर्त्तते ॥ तिङन्ते उदात्तवति परतो गतिरनुदात्तो भवति ॥

71. A Gati becomes anudatta, when followed by an accented finite verb.

The word गतिः is understood here. Thus यत् प्र पचति, यत् प्र करोति ॥

Why have we used the word तिङि in the sūtra? In order to restrict the scope of the word उदात्तवति; so that a Gati would not become accentless before every udatta word, but only before udatta verbs. Thus आ does not become anudatta before मन्दैः in आ मन्दै रन्द्र हरिभि र्याहि ॥ If it be said that the word गति is a particular name which the Particles get before verb only, and therefore गति would always refer to its correlative term verb, and not to noun, like as the word father refers to its correlative term son and not nephew: and that, therefore, उदात्तवति must refer to the verb like याहि and not to a noun like मन्दैः; then also we say that the employment of the term तिङि is necessary, in order to indicate that the verb must be a finite verb, and not a verbal root. So that though a verbal root be udatta, yet if in its conjugated form (तिङन्त) it is not udatta, the गति will not lose its accent. Thus in यत् प्र करोति, the root कृ is anudatta, but the तिङन्त form करोति is udatta, hence the rule will apply here: which would not have been the case had उदात्तवति not been qualified by तिङि ॥ For the maxim is यत्कियायुक्ताः प्रावयस् तेषां तं प्रति गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे भवतः ॥ Therefore in a तिङन्त, the designation of गति is with regard to प्रातु or verbal root. Obj: If तिङि is used for this purpose, then the rule will not apply to an आम् ending forms, like प्र पचतितराम् and प्रपचतितराम्, for these are not तिङन्त; but as a matter of fact, we find that प्र loses its accent, in these forms also. How is this explained? Ans. Here there are two views: some compound the Gati प्र with the completed आमन्त form पचतितराम् ॥ According to them, this प्र would get the accent, on the rule that an Indeclinable first member retains its accent (VI. 2. 2); so that even if the word तिङ् was not used in the sūtra, the form पचतितराम् being the second member of a compound, became anudatta; and so प्र being followed by an anudatta never loses its accent. According to them, therefore, the Gati never loses its accent in प्रपचतितराम् &c. Others compound the word ending in तरप् (पचतितर) with the Gati, and having formed प्रपचतितर, then add the affix आम् ॥ According to this view, the आम् accent debars all other accents, on the maxim, 'the accent of the last prevails' (सर्तिशब्द), and so प्र is anudatta, not by this rule, but by अनुदात्तसर्वे परमेकवर्ज ॥ According to them the word is प्रपचतितराम् ॥ According to both of these views, this sūtra is not necessary for the purposes of प्रपचतितराम् &c. But there is a third view which makes this sūtra necessary even for this purpose. There is this maxim: गतिकारकापदानाम् कृङिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुदुपपत्तेः "It should be

stated that Gatis, Kārakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination has been added to the latter". This maxim itself has been explained in two different ways, one saying that the compounding takes place with kṛit-formed words *only* before the addition of case-affixes; but with words formed by Taddhita affixes, the compounding does not take place before a case affix has been added. The other view makes no such difference between kṛit-formed and non-kṛit formed words. This latter view is not necessary for our purposes. According to the first view, the Gati प्र can never be compounded with पचतिराम् as it is not a सुबन्त ॥ So both प्र and पचतिराम् having different accents, the present sūtra became necessary to cause the loss of accent of प्र ॥

Why have we used the word उदात्तवति? See प्रं पचति, प्रं करोति ॥ Here the verb loses its accent by VIII. 1. 28, hence the Gati retains its accent.

आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितम्, पूर्वम्, अविद्यमानवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवद्भवति, तस्मिन्सति यत्कार्यं तत्र भवति ॥

72. A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्).

Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent vocative, which the first, taken as a पद, would have caused under VIII. 1. 19. As देवदत्त ! यज्ञदत्त ! Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. 1. 198. (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. 1. 28 is prevented: as, देवदत्त पंचसि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII. 1. 20-23 is prevented, as देवदत्त तव (not ते) मामः स्वम्, देवदत्त मम (not मे) मामः स्वम् ॥ (4) The application of VIII. 1. 37 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb: as, यावद् देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII. 1. 47, though a Vocative may precede जातु, the latter is still considered as अविद्यमानपूर्वं and VIII. 1. 47 applies, as देवदत्त जातु पंचसि ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. 1. 49, as आहो देवदत्त पंचसि, उताहो देवदत्त पचसि, no option is allowed here by VIII. 1. 50.

Why do we use the word 'as if' or *यद्* in the sūtra, instead of saying 'altogether'? In other words, why do we say "it is considered as if non-existent", instead of saying "it is considered altogether non-existent"? The vocative does produce its own particular effect. Thus in *आम् भो देवदत्त!* the vocative *भो* is considered as one word (*एकान्तर*) for the purposes of separating *आम्* from the vocative *देवदत्त* under VIII. 1. 55. This is the opinion of Patanjali; but the opinion of the author of Kāśikā is that *भो* would have been considered as *अविद्यमानवद्* but for VIII. 1. 73.

Why do we say 'a Vocative'? Observe *देवदत्तः पचति ॥* Why do we say *पूर्वं* 'with regard to the subsequent word'? The vocative itself will not be considered as non-existent, for the application of rules that would apply to vocative as such. Thus in *देवदत्तं यज्ञदत्तः*, the vocative *देवदत्त* gets its accent by VI. 1. 193 also. In fact, the word *पूर्वं* connotes its correlative *पर* 'subsequent'; and the vocative is considered as non-existent, for the purposes of the operations to be performed on such *subsequent* term, whether such operation be caused by the vocative itself, or by any other cause; but it is not to be considered non-existent for the purposes of operations to be performed upon itself. Therefore in *देवदत्तं पचति*, Devadatta does get the accent of the vocative. In *इमं मे गच्छे यमुने सरस्वति शतुद्रि* the first vocative *गच्छे* is considered as non-existent with regard to *यमुने*, and, therefore, *यमुने* is considered as following immediately after the pada *मे* and thus *यमुने* becomes *anudatta*, not because of *गच्छे*, but because of *मे*; similarly *सरस्वति* and *शतुद्रि* are *anudatta*, not because of the preceding Vocative, but because of *मे ॥* In other words, the intervention of the vocatives does not stop the action of *मे ॥*

नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आमन्त्रिते, समानाधिकरणे, सामान्य-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानवत्त्वस्य प्रतिषेधः ॥ आमन्त्रितान्ते समानाधिकरणेपरतः पूर्वमामन्त्रितान्तं सामान्यवचनं नाविद्यमानवत्त्ववति ॥

73. A preceding vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus *अग्ने शुभ्रपते, माणवकजुष्टिलकाभ्यामुक्त्वा ॥* The first vocative being considered as existing, second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the *vocative* subsequent'? Observe *देवदत्तं पचति* here the *verb* does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition or *समानाधिकरणे*? Observe *देवदत्तं पण्डितं यज्ञदत्तः*, here the word *पण्डितं* qualifies *यज्ञदत्तः*, and is not in apposition with *देवदत्तः*, and hence it retains its accent.

Why do we say सामान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus अग्नये देवि सरस्वति ईडे काव्ये विह्वये एतानि ते अग्नये नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1. 198). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Taittiriya Br. is:-- ईडे रत्नेऽ विते सरस्वति प्रिये प्रयसि महि विभुते, एतानि ते अग्नये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, विशेष-
वचने, बहुवचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वणाविद्यमानवचने प्रतिषिद्धे विकल्प उच्यते ॥ विशेषवचने समानाधिकरणे भ्रामन्वितान्ते परतः पूर्वनामन्वितं बहुवचनान्ते विभाषितमविद्यमानवद्भवति ॥

74. When the preceding Vocative is in the Plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

This ordains option, where the last sūtra would have made the consideration of the first vocative as existent compulsory. Thus देवाः सौर्याः or देवा शरण्याः ॥ ब्राह्मणा वैद्याकरणाः or ब्राह्मणा वैद्याकरणाः ॥

The anuvṛitti of सामान्यवचनम् is understood here; the second vocative, therefore, must be a विशेषवचन, as being the correlative of the former: where is then the necessity of employing the word विशेषवचने in the sūtra? This word is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision only.

Why do we say 'in the plural number'? Observe मागवक उदितक ॥ No option is allowed here, and the preceding vocative is *always* considered as existent and so rule VIII. 1. 73 applies.

The sūtras 73 and 74 as enunciated by Pāṇini are:—73. नामन्विते समानाधिकरणे; 74. सामान्यवचनं विभाषितं विशेषवचने (i. e. 73. The preceding Vocative is not considered as non-existent, if the subsequent word is a Vocative in apposition with it. 74. Optionally so, if the preceding vocative is a general term and the subsequent vocative is a particular term). Patanjali made the amendment by adding सामान्यवचने to 73 also, and the author of Kāśikā has added बहुवचनम् to 74 from the commentary of Patanjali and has omitted सामान्यवचनम् from it: though he reads its anuvṛitti.



ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वत्र, अ-सिद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्यधिकार आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिव्याप्तः पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्येवं तद्वे-
दितव्यम् । तत्र येयं सपादसप्ताध्यायानुक्रान्ता एतस्यामयं पादोनोऽध्यायोऽसिद्धो भवति । इत उत्तरं चोत्तरो-
त्तरो योगः पूर्वत्रपूर्वत्रासिद्धो भवति । असिद्धवद्भवति । सिद्धकार्यं न करोति इति अर्थः ॥ तदेतदसिद्धवचनं
आदेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थं उत्सर्गलक्षणभावायं च ॥

1. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikāra or governing rule, and extends upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter is to be understood as non-existent, with regard to the preceding rule. With regard to whatever has been taught in the preceding Seven Books and a quarter, the rules contained in these three last chapters are considered as *asiddha*. And further, in these three chapters, a subsequent rule is, as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned. The word असिद्धम् = असिद्धवद्भवति, सिद्धकार्यं न करोति ॥ The rule is "as if non-effective, does not produce the operation of a siddha or effective rule". This rule of non-effectiveness is for the sake of prohibiting the operation of an ādeśa rule, and establishing the operation of an utsarga or general rule. Thus अस्मा उद्धर; हा अत्र; हा आनय, असा आवित्यः ॥ In all these, the elision of ह् and व् by VIII. 3. 19, being considered as not to have taken effect, there is no further sandhi, and आ + उ does not give rise to guṇa, nor आ + अ = आ ॥ In fact, for the purposes of the application of आद्युणः rule of VI. 1. 87, or the दीर्घ rule of VI. 1. 101, the rule VIII. 3. 19 is considered as not to have taken effect at all.

Similarly अमुजै, अमुज्मात्, अमुज्मिन् from अदस् ॥ Thus अदस् + ङे = अद + ङे (VII. 2. 102 अ being substituted for the final स्, which again merges in the

preceding अ VI. 1. 97) = अमु + डे (VIII. 2. 80. ड being substituted for अ, and म् for इ of अइ). Now the substitution of स्मै for डे takes place only after Pronouns ending in अ; but अमु is a pronoun ending in इ, so this स्मै (VII. 1. 14) should not take place. The present sūtra helps us out of this difficulty, and the change of अ into इ by VIII. 2. 80 is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 14.

शुष्किका शुष्कजङ्घा च क्षामिमानौजडत्तथा ।

मतेर्दत्त्वे भलां जङ्घं, शुडलिप्पमानिदर्शनम् ॥

The forms शुष्किका, शुष्कजङ्घा, क्षामिमान्, औजडत्, and शुडलिप्पमान् illustrate this rule excellently.

(1) शुष्किका ॥ To the root शुष् we add the Nishthā त, as शुष् + त = शुष् + क (त changed to क by VIII. 2. 51) = शुष्क ॥ Add the feminine affix टाप् and we have शुष्का ॥ Add to this the affix क (V. 3. 70, 73), as शुष्का + क = शुष्काक, the feminine of which with टाप् will be शुष्का (the shortening taking place by VII. 4. 13). Now अ is changed to इ by VII. 3. 44 and we have शुष्किका ॥ Now rule VII. 3. 46 makes this इ substitution optional, when a क precedes the अ, as is the case here: and that rule would require the alternative form शुष्का ॥ But there is no such alternative form, because the क of शुष्क was the substitute of त by VIII. 2. 51, which is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of VII. 3. 46.

(2) शुष्कजङ्घा ॥ Here rule VI. 3. 37 would have required the form to be शुष्काजङ्घा like मद्रिकाकल्पा; there being no पुन-वद-bhāva when there is a penultimate क ॥ But the क in शुष्का being the result of VIII. 2. 51 is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes of VI. 3. 37.

(3) क्षामिमान् ॥ This word may be considered to have been formed by adding the affix मनुप् to the Patronymic word क्षामि: or to the noun क्षामिन् [क्षाम-स्यापत्यं = क्षामि:, or क्षामोऽस्यास्तीति = क्षामिन्] ॥ The word क्षाम is formed by adding the Nishthā त to the root क्षे, as क्षे + त = क्षा + त (VI. 1. 45) = क्षाम (the त being changed to म by VIII. 2. 53). Now this म is considered as non-effectual for the purposes of application of VIII. 2. 9, which requires the change of म of मन् to व, when मन् is added to a word having a penultimate म, as in शमीवान् ॥ Therefore we have क्षामिमान् and not क्षामिवान् ॥

(4) औजडत् ॥ This is the Aorist third person singular of the Derivative root औजि, from the Past-Participle of वह् ॥ Thus वह् + त = ऊड (VI. 1. 15). Add to it जिच् in the sense of तमाख्यत् (III. 1. 26): and then form its लुङ् ॥ The लुङ् is formed by adding षङ् (III. 1. 48), before which the stem is reduplicated (VI. 1. 11). In reduplicating, all the rules that went before in forming ऊड are considered *asiddha*; viz. the rule by which इ was changed to उ (as वह् + त = उह् + त = उह् + त VIII. 1. 31), the rule by which त was changed to ध (उह् + त = उह् + ध VIII. 1.

40), the rule by which घ was changed to ढ (VIII. 4. 41), and the rule by which the first ढ was elided (VIII. 3. 13 as उह्+ढ=उ+ढ=ऊढ VI. 3. 111). The elision of दि before णि being considered sthānivat, we reduplicate हत्; as ऊहत्+चङ्+तृ=ऊहढत् (VII. 4. 60)=ऊहढत् (VII. 4. 62)=ऊजढत् (VIII. 4. 54). There is no ह added by VII. 4. 79, because of the prohibition of अनश्लेषे of VII. 4. 93. With the augment, it becomes औजढत् ॥ The form औजिढत् is from उढि ending in the affix क्तिन् ॥

(5) युडलिप्ताम् ॥ This is formed by adding मनुप् to the word युडलिह्, which is formed by क्तिप् (युडं लेढि) Here also the म of मनुप् is not changed into ष by VIII. 2. 10; because the change of ह् to ङ् (VIII. 1. 3), and again of ङ् to ञ् are considered asiddha.

The rules of interpretation, however, contained in the previous part will apply to this part also; because such rules cannot be considered 'prior' or पूर्व; for they become operative then only when occasion requires to apply them. The maxim which governs such rules is कार्यकाले हि संज्ञा परिभाषम् ॥ The rules, therefore, which are exhibited here in the sixth case such as VIII. 2. 23, or the seventh case, as VIII. 2. 26, or the fifth case, as VIII. 2. 27, should be interpreted in accordance with the sūtras षष्ठी स्थाने योगा, तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य, तस्मादिति उत्तरस्य ॥

But with regard to the paribhāṣhā विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यं, the above will not hold good. For, by the very fact, that a subsequent rule in these chapters, is held to be asiddha, with regard to the prior, there cannot arise any conflict of two rules of equal force with regard to them. And it is only where there is such a conflict, that the above rule of interpretation applies. This being so, in विस्कार्यम्, अवगोर्यम् formed by व्यत् (III. 1. 124) the guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 86 is not debarred by the दीर्घ rule VIII. 2. 77, because there is no conflict between guṇa rule VII. 3. 86 and the dirgha-rule VIII. 2. 77, for the latter is simply non-existent with regard to the former.

But though the विप्रतिषेध rule does not apply in these chapters; yet an apavāda rule here even, does over-ride an utsarga rule, for otherwise, the enunciation of an apavāda rule would be useless. The apavāda rule is therefore, not considered asiddha. Thus the utsarga rule श्लोढः (VIII. 2. 31) is set aside by the apavāda rule दक्षिर्भातोर्ध्वः (VIII. 2. 32), and thus we have दोन्धा, शोणु ष (दुह्+तृच्=शोष्+तृच्) ॥

नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुग्विधिषु कृति ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ न लोपः, सुप्-स्वर-संज्ञा-तुक्-विधिषु, कृति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नलोपः पूर्ववासिद्धो भवति सुधिविधौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ तुग्विधौ च कृतिः । विधिशब्दोऽयं प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यमानः स्वरसंज्ञातुकां विधेयत्वात्तैः कर्मषष्ठीयुक्तैर्भावसाधनोऽभिसंबध्यते । सुप्ता तु संबन्धसामान्यवचनषष्ठ्यन्तेन कर्मसाधनः । तेन सुप् स्थाने यो विधिः सुपि च परभूते सर्वोसौ सुधिविधिरिति सर्ववासिद्धत्वं भवति ॥

2. The elision of a final न् (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment त् before a Kṛit-affix.

The word विधि in the sūtra applies to all the four words preceding it: as सुहविधि, स्वरविधि &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्वरविधि, संज्ञाविधि तुग्विधि is that of ordaining the existence of something: e.g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is to be given to it or when न् is to be added to it, (भावसाधन) ॥ The compound सुहविधि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मसाधन) ॥

(1) सुहविधि:—As राजानि, तक्षत्रिः ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तक्षन् being asiddha, the निस् is not changed to एस् by VII. 1. 9. So also राजभ्याम्, तक्षभ्याम्, राजसु, तक्षसु ॥ Here the finals of राज and तक्ष are not lengthened before भ्याम् by सुविध (VII. 3. 102) and nor changed to ए before सु by (VII. 3. 103): as in नराभ्याम् and नरेषु of the stem ending in अ ॥

(2) स्वरविधि:—As राजवती and not राजवती ॥ For the elision of न् being asiddha, the rule VI. 1. 220, does not apply, for the word is considered not to end in अवती but न्वती ॥ Similarly in पञ्चार्धम् and दशार्धम्, the elision of न् being asiddha, the first member does not become ādy-udatta by VI. 2. 90. Similarly पञ्चवीजः the elision of न् being asiddha, the first member does not retain its original accent as required by VI. 2. 29.

The word राजन् is first acute, as it is formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ. I. 156). राजवती is formed by adding ङीप् to the मनुप् ending word, by IV. 1. 6. पञ्चार्धम् is a compound under rule II. 1. 50 of पञ्चन्-1-अर्म, and when न् is elided, the first member becomes a word ending in अ and would require the accent of VI. 2. 90.

(3) संज्ञाविधि:—As पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः, दश ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पञ्च and दश are still called shash though they no longer end in न् (ष्णान्ता षद् I. 1. 24). Being called षप्, they do not take टप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 10).

According to the Vārtikakāra, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sūtra (संज्ञा ग्रहणार्थक्यं च नन्निमित्तत्वाद्भाष्यस्य), because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as षद्). Thus without its having the name of षद् there would be no elision of जस् and षस्, without such elision, there is no pada sañjña of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII. 2. 7. The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking

plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The पञ्चन् and द्वाञ् ending in न् would require डीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जस् and न् are elided, the words end in अ and require टाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of षट् ॥

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sūtra? There are two views as regard definitions (संज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, prior to any operations; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् 'Sanjñā, and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught.' The other view is that the sanjñā sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, and the sanjñā given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjñā sūtra becomes identified with a vidhī sūtra, every time that a vidhī is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकाले संज्ञापरिभाषम् "Sanjñās and Paribhāshās are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations." In the first view, the षट् sanjñā will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस् and षस् and for prohibiting टाप् ॥ Hence thus sūtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjñā is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that षट् sanjñā which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding जस् and षस्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

(4) तुङ्विधिः—Thus वृचहभ्यां, वृचहभिः ॥ On account of the elision of न् being asiddha, the तुक् augment is not added, though required by VI. 1. 71. (इत्थस्य पिति कृति तुक्) ॥

Some hold that तुक् need not be read in the sūtra. They argue in this way:—There is this maxim सन्निपात लक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विपातस्य "That which is taught in a rule, the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". Now the elision of न् of वृचहन् took place because of the case affix भ्यां, this elision cannot be the cause of adding तुक् ॥ Or the तुक् being a बहिरङ्ग operation would be asiddha with regard to the antaranga elision of न् ॥ This opinion is, however, not sound. The employment of तुक् in this sūtra indicates, that the two maxims above referred to, are not of universal application i. e. they are anitya.

Why do we say before a Kṛt-affix? Observe वृचहच्छवम्, वृचहच्छाया ॥ Here तुक् is added by VI. 1. 73.

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2. 7 &c would be asiddha by the

general rule VIII. 2. 1; the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. That is, the elision of *न* is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजीयते (राजन् + क्यच् + ते = राज + य + ते = राजीयते III. 1. 8, VII. 4. 33). There would not have been long ई had the नलोप been asiddha. So also राजायते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25) and राजाश्च there is ekādeśa (VI. 1. 101).

न मु ने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, मु, ने, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुभावो नाभावे कर्त्तव्ये नासिद्धो भवति किं तर्हि सिद्ध एव ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ एकदेशस्वरान्तरः सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ संयोगान्तस्य लोपो रो हस्ये सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ सिङ्गलोप एकदेशे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ निष्ठादेशः प्लवस्वरप्रत्ययविधीषु सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ प्लुतविकारस्तु विधीषु सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ इत्थं धुटि सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ अभ्यासजद्वयत्वे एत्वतुकोः सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ द्विवचने परसवर्णस्य सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पदाधिकारभेदत्वद्वयप्लवनत्वप्लवणत्वानुनासिकछत्वानि सिद्धानि वक्तव्यानि ॥

3. The sūtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of *मु* for the *दस्* of the Pronoun *अदस्*, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending *ना* ॥

The existence of *हु* is not considered uneffected when there is to be added *ना* ॥ On the contrary, it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus *हु* being considered as siddha, *अहु* gets the designation of *पि* by I. 4. 7, and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120, *अहुना* ॥ Had the *हु* been considered as non-effected, then the stem would not have been called *ghī*, and there would have been no *ना* added. But when *ना* had been added, then the *हु* being asiddha, *अहु* is considered to be as *अह* ending in *अ*, and this *अ* would require lengthening by *मुपि च* VII. 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विपातस्य "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". There being no long *आ* the *उ* of *अहु* remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) *हु* is siddha when *ना* is to be added, (2) *हु* is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when *ना* is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sūtra is ने परतो यन् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्त्तव्ये मुभावो नासिद्धः "the *हु* is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when *ना* followed". From this, it would follow by implication that *हु* must be considered valid for the purposes of *नाभाव* itself. So *हु* being always siddha, *ना* is added: and there is no lengthening.

Vārt:—That ekādeśa accent which is antaranga, should be considered as siddha. What is the necessity of this vārtika? In order to regulate the accents of 1. अह, 2. आह, 3. आव् substitutions of ए, ऐ and औ; 4. the accent of

ekādeśa substitutes, 5. the accent of the शतृ formed words, 6. for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all syllables of a word are anudātta except one, and 7. for the purposes of VIII. 1. 28, by which all syllables become anudātta.

Thus (1) let us take अय् first. वृक्षे is finally acute by Phiṭ I. 1. The locative of this is वृक्ष + ङि (anudātta III. 1. 3) = वृक्षे (ए is udātta VIII. 2. 5). Now combine वृक्षे + इवम् = वृक्षेय् + इवम् = वृक्षे इवम् ॥ So also वृक्ष इवम् ॥ The udātta ekādeśa ऐ must be considered as *siddha*, so that the अय् substitute of ए should also become udātta. (2) आयः As कुमार्ये इवम् ॥ Here also आ is udātta for similar reasons. कुमारी + डे = कुमारी + आ + ए (VII. 3. 112) = कुमार्य् + आ + ए = कुमार्य् + ओ + ए (VI. 1. 174) = कुमार्य् + ऐ (VI. 2. 90) = कुमार्ये (VIII. 2. 5). The ऐ is udātta and its आय् substitute will also be udātta. How do you give this example? This example is then valid, when by VI. 1. 174, first the affix आ is made udātta, then this आ (आद् VII. 3. 112) augment is added to डे, and then (आ + ए) there is vṛiddhi ऐ; and then कुमार्य् + ऐ = कुमार्ये ॥ But if the order be reversed and आ + ए be first combined into ऐ, and then this ऐ be made udātta by VI. 1. 174, then there would be no necessity of this vārtika for the purposes of आय् ॥ The word कुमार्ये is end-acute by Phiṭ accent (Phiṭ I. 1). Add to it ङीप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 20), as कुमार्ये + ई = कुमार्ये + ई (अ is elided by VI. 4. 148) = कुमार्ये + ई (VI. 1. 161) = कुमार्ये ॥

(3) आव्. As वृक्षविर्वम् or वृक्षविर्वम्, for the same reasons as above [वृक्षे + औ (anudātta) = वृक्षौ VIII. 2. 5, वृक्षौ + इवम्].

(4) एकादेश accent. As गाङ्गे ड्यप् ॥ Here गाङ्गे + इ = गाङ्गे ॥ The word गाङ्ग is formed by अण् affix (गंगाया इवम्) and is end-acute. The ekādeśa ए is udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This udātta accent will remain valid: so that when for ए + अ there is pūrva-rūpa-ekādeśa by VI. 1. 109, this ekādeśa ए will be udātta by VIII. 2. 5, or it will be svarita by VIII. 2. 6. The word अमूर्त्त is a प्रावि compound, आपोऽनुगतं = अमूर्त्त ॥ Here by VI. 2. 2, the Indeclinable first term would have retained its accent: but the word is end-acute by VI. 2. 189.

(5) शतृ - accent. As तुर्वती, तुर्वते ॥ Here in तुर्व + श + शतृ, the affix श is udātta, and शतृ is anudātta. The ekādeśa अ will be udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādeśa - udātta should be considered valid for the purposes of the rule VI. 1. 173 by which the feminine affix and the weak case-ending are udātta. Thus तुर्वत् + ई = तुर्वती, तुर्वत् + ए = तुर्वते ॥ The prohibition अनुमः in VI. 1. 173 is a jñāpaka or indicator of the fact, that the ekādeśa accent should be considered *siddha*, in the accent of the शतृ, because without this ekādeśa accent, there is no śatṛi ending word with लुप् which is antodātta.

(6) एकाननुशातः accent. As तुर्वन्ति, लिखन्ति ॥ Here in तुर्व् + श + अन्ति (VI. 1. 186) the ekādeśa अ is udātta by VIII. 2. 5, and this ekādeśa accent is considered valid for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all the remaining syllables become anudātta, as तुर्वन्ति, लिखन्ति ॥

(7) सर्वानुवाचः accent. As ब्राह्मणास्तुवन्ति, ब्राह्मणा लिखन्ति ॥ Here the ekādes'a-accent of तुवन्ति and लिखन्ति being valid, rule VIII. 1. 28 applies, and all the syllables become anudātta.

The word antaranga is used in the vārtika to indicate that the Bahiranga ekādes'a accent will not be siddha. Thus पचतीति and प्रपचतीति, where the word इति is first acute, as it is an Indeclinable. And सोमसुत् पचतीति ॥ The accent of पचति + इति = पचतीति is governed by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādes'a accent of long ई has reference to external sandhi, and therefore naturally it is a bahiranga. This bahiranga ekādes'a accent is not siddha for the purposes of the application of previous sūtras. Thus sūtra VIII. 1. 71. requires that the gati should be unaccented before an accented verb: but प्र does not lose its accent, as पचतीति is not considered as an accented verb. In the second example, the ई of सी is not considered as accented, therefore, it does not become anudātta by VIII. 1. 28.

Vārt.—The rule VIII. 2. 23 causing the elision of the final consonant in a word ending with a conjunct consonant, should be valid for the purposes of changing रु into उ ॥ What is the necessity of this vārtika? Observe हरिवो भेविन् एवा ॥ The word हरिवः is formed by मतुप् affix हरयोऽस्य सन्ति = हरि + मत् ॥ Now by VIII. 2. 15 the म is changed to व, as हरि + वत् or हरिवत्; add सु (Voc.Sg.) as हरिवत् + सु, then add लुप् augment, as हरिवन्त् + सु ॥ Then there is elision of the final consonant = हरिवन् ॥ Now by VIII. 3. 1. the final न् is changed to र, and we have हरिवर्, the र would be changed to उ by VI. 1. 114, if the elision of the conjunct consonants be considered as siddha: for then this र is followed by म, a हश् letter. But if such elision be considered asiddha, then र is considered not to be followed by हश् letters, but by the consonants which were elided.

Vārt.—When ekādes'a is to be done, the elision of सिच् is to be considered siddha or valid. As अलावीत् and अपावीत् ॥ Here the सिच् is elided by इट ईदि (VIII. 2. 28.) This elision is considered valid or siddha, and thus we have dirgha single substitution of ई for इ + ई as अलाच् + इ + सीत् = अलाच् + इ + ओ + ईत् = अलावीत् ॥

Vārt.—The substitute of the Nishṭhā affixes should be considered as valid or siddha for the purposes of the rules relating to the (1) changing of स to ष, (2) accent, (3) affix, and (4) इट् augment. As (1) वृक्ञः, वृक्ञवान् ॥ The root is ओत्रञ्चु (VI. 11) the indicator ओ shows that the nishṭhā स is changed to न (VIII. 2. 45). This nishṭhā substitute is considered as valid or siddha, and the final of the root is not changed to ष, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 36: for न would have been still considered as स or a हश् letter. The equation is as follows:—अत्रञ्चु + त = वृक्ञ्चु + त (VI. 1. 16) = वृक्ञ्चु + न (VIII. 2. 45) = वृक्ञ्चु + न (VIII. 2. 29) = वृक्ञ्चु + न (VIII. 2. 30) = वृक्ञः (VIII. 4. 1) The ञ्च is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 30, by considering न as asiddha and therefore equal to स or a हश् letter. Thus it will be seen that this न is ओत्रञ्चु for the purposes of

rule VIII. 2. 30, but it is सिद्ध only for the purposes of rule VIII. 2. 36.

As regards the other three cases, viz, accent, affix and इद् augment, the one word क्षीब्, will illustrate them all. The irregular formation of this word is variously explained. It is formed by "nipātana" under VIII. 2. 55. It is the Past Participle of the root क्षीब्, thus evolved क्षीब् + इद् + त् = क्षीब् + इ + त् = क्षीब् + ञ (इत् being elided, this is the anomaly) = क्षीब् ॥ Here the elision of इत् is considered as valid and siddha, and therefore, क्षीब् is considered as a word of two syllables, for the purposes of accent, under rule निष्ठाच्च व्यञ्जनात् (VI. 1. 205). Had the lopādeśa of इत् been considered asiddha, the word would have been considered as if of three syllables, and that rule of *accent* would not have applied.

Similarly क्षीबेन तरति = क्षीबिक formed by घृन् (IV. 4. 7) which affix is added, because it is considered a word of *two* syllables, the elision of इत् being considered as valid for the purposes of IV. 4. 7.

Similarly क्षीब may be considered to have been formed by eliding the त्; as क्षीब् + त् = क्षीब् + ञ ॥ In this view of its formation, the augment इद् is not added, because the lopa of त् is considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of इद् augment. In the opinion of Patanjali, the words इद् विधि may well be omitted from the vārtika, for इद् being a *portion* of a प्रत्यय, the word प्रत्ययविधि would include इद्-विधि also.

Vārt:—The prolation modification of a vowel (pluta) should be considered as valid and siddha, for the purposes of the rule relating to तुक् augment before the letter छ ॥ Thus by VIII. 2. 107, the Vocative words अग्ने and पदो assume the forms अग्नाइ, and पदाइ ॥ These इ and उ are pluta-vikāras. As अग्नाइ इच्छन् ॥ पदाइ उच्छन् ॥ Here the modification caused by VIII. 2. 107, is considered as valid and siddha; otherwise there would have been no compulsory तुक् augment as required by VI. 1. 73 but optional तुक् under VI. 1. 76.

Vārt:—The ण् and palatal change should be considered siddha and valid before घृद् (VIII. 3. 29). The root द्युतिर् क्षरणे (I. 41) is read as beginning with a स, which is changed to ण because of the subsequent च् by VIII. 4. 40. This is not considered asiddha. Had it been so, there would come घृद् augment by VIII. 3. 29, in अद् द्योतति, रद् द्योतति ॥ The words अद् and रद् are अद् and रद् formed from the roots अदति and रदति by क्विप् ॥

Why is the root द्युतिर् considered to begin with स and not with ण as we find it written? Because had it been a root beginning with ण originally, we could not get the form मधुक् which would have been मधुद् ॥ The form मधुक् is thus evolved. Thus मधु द्योतति = मधुद्युत् by adding क्विप् ॥ From मधुद्युत् we form a Derivative root in णिच् in the sense of मधुद्युत्तमाचष्टे = मधुद्वयति ॥ Add again क्विप् to this Derivative root मधुञ्चि, the णिच् will be elided, and we have मधुद्वद्, then ण् (which represents स) is elided because it is at the beginning of a compound letter (VIII. 2. 29), and ण् is elided, because it is at the

end of a conjunct letter final in a pada (VIII. 2. 23), and thus there remains मधुच्, and च् is changed to क् (VIII. 2. 30) we have मधुक् ॥ Had the root been शकारादि, then this श् could not be elided, and so we should elide only the final च् and श् and the form would be मधुश् which would be changed to श् and then to इ and we should get मधुइ which is not desired.

Vart:—The जश् and चश् substitution of letters in the reduplicate should be considered siddha and valid for the purposes of ए change (VI. 4. 120) and तुक् augment. Thus बभजतुः and बभजुः ॥ Here the जश् change of भ, to ब in the reduplicate should be considered as valid, otherwise this would be अनदिशादि root and the Perfect would be भेजतुः and भेजुः ॥ Similarly from छिच् we have चिच्छित्सति, and from उच्छ्, उच्छिच्छित्सति ॥ In the latter, the second syllable छिच् of उच्छिच् (Desiderative) is reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. Here had the reduplicate substitute च for छ been considered asiddha, there would not have been तुक् augment by छे च (VI. 1. 73)

Vart:—The change of letter homogeneous with the subsequent is valid and siddha for the purposes of doubling. As सद्यन्ता, सद्यन्तरः, यद्युक्तम्, यद्युक्तम् ॥ In सद्यन्ता &c the द् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, and the anusvāra is then changed to a letter homogeneous with the subsequent by VIII. 4. 58. Had the परस्वर्ण change been asiddha, there would have been no doubling by VIII. 4. 47.

Vart:—If there be the adhikāra of the word 'pada' in those sūtras which ordain the following changes, then those changes are considered siddha for doubling, namely, 1. लृक् the change into ल (VIII. 2. 21), 2. इलृक् the change into इ (VIII. 2. 31), 3. एलृक् the change into ए (VIII. 2. 33), 4. नलृक् the change into न (VIII. 2. 56), 5. रुलृक् the change into रु (VIII. 2. 75), 6. वलृक् the change into व (VIII. 3. 85), 7. ञलृक् the change into ञ (VIII. 4. 11), 8. anunāsika change (VIII. 4. 45), 9. छलृक् the change into छ (VIII. 4. 63).

As 1. गल्लो गलः; गतेगरः ॥ 2. श्लोधा श्लोधा ॥ 3. श्लोधाश्लोधा ॥ 4. तुल्लो तुल्लः or तुल्लो तुल्लः ॥ 5. अभिनोऽभिनः or अभिनद् अभिनद् This is लृक् second person singular of भिद्, the स् of सिप् is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final त् changed optionally to रु by VIII. 2. 74. The न is the vikarana भ्नम् ॥ 6. मातुः स्वसा मातुः स्वसा or मातुः स्वसा, मातुः स्वसा, 7. माषवापाणि माषवापाणि or माषवापाणि माषवापाणि ॥ 8. वाह् नयनम् वाह् नयनम् or वाग्नयनम् वाग्नयनम् ॥ 9. वाक् च्छयनं वाक् च्छयनं or वाक्शयनं वाक्शयनं ॥

The लृक् &c, changes being all optional, had the changes been considered asiddha, we would have got the following double forms also गतेगल, गल्लेगरः which are not desired.

All these can be explained by dividing the sūtra न तु ने into two. The first being न, and this negative will prohibit all asiddha-ness mentioned in the

preceding vārtikas. The second sūtra would be **बु ने**, and we would here draw in the anuvṛitti of **न** from the preceding.

उदात्तस्वरितयोर्यणः स्वरितोऽनुदात्तस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त-स्वरितयोः, यणः, स्वरितः, अनुदात्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तयणः स्वरितयणश्च परस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरित आदेशो भवति ॥

4. A svarita vowel is the substitute of an anudāṭṭa vowel, when the latter follows after such a semi-vowel, which has replaced an udāṭṭa or a svarita vowel.

An unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when it comes after a यण (semi-vowel), which यण itself has come in the room of a vowel which was acute or svarita once.

Let us first take the vowel following an udāṭṭa yan. Thus **कुमार्यैः**, **कुमार्यैः ॥** The word **कुमार्यैः** is acutely accented on the final, because the long ई (दीर्घ) replaces अ of **कुमार** (VI. 1. 161). The semi-vowel य् is substituted in the room of this acute ई; the anudāṭṭa औ and अः become svarita after such a य् ॥

Now to take an example of a svarita-yan. The words **सकृत्** and **खल्वि** are finally acute by kṛit-accent (VI. 2. 139). The Locative singular of these words are **खल्वि + इ = खल्वि**, and **सकृत् + इ = सकृत्** by VI. 4. 83. This इ is a semi-vowel which comes in the room of the acute ई, therefore, it is udāṭṭa-yan. After this udāṭṭa-yan, the anudāṭṭa इ of the Locative becomes svarita by the first part of this sūtra. Now when **खल्वि + आशा** and **सकृत् + आशा** are combined by sandhi, this svarita इ is changed to य्; it is, therefore, a svarita-yan. The unaccented आ will become svarita, after this svarita-yan. As **खल्व्याशा** and **सकृत्स्याशा ॥** The word **आशा** is finally acute and consequently आ is not acute (Phit. I. 18).

Obj :—Here an objector may say : that the svarita accent on इ in **खल्वि** is by this very sūtra, this svarita is to be considered as asiddha for the purposes of यण ādeśa of VI. 4. 83. How can then the य् substituted for this इ be considered as svarita-yan ?

Ans :—This is considered as siddha by āśraya. (**आश्रयान् सिद्धत्वं**) ॥

Obj :—If this be so, then **उदात्तावनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः** (VIII. 4. 66) should also be considered as siddha : and we should have svarita in **द्व्याशा** &c also. For the word **द्वि** is first-acute by Phit II. 3. Therefore वि is svarita by VIII. 4. 66. The य् is svarita yan, the anudāṭṭa आ after this should become svarita according this view, but this is not so.

Ans :—To avoid this difficulty, we have the following.

Vārt :—**यणस्वरितो यणदेशे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥** “The यण accent should be considered as valid, for the purposes of यण substitution”.

Some say, that even in such cases as इध्याशा the above rule applies, and that the unaccented vowel becomes svarita, if it follows a svarita-yaṇ which is preceded by an acute vowel. They quote the following from Taittariya śākhā :—यास्ते विश्वाः समिधः सन्त्यग्ने, where the अ of अग्ने is pronounced as svarita. So also in the Brāhmaṇa portion as : इध्याशयति the आ is read as svarita. But according to Kātyayana and Patanjali, the unaccented vowel does not become svarita by this sūtra, when it follows a svarita-yaṇ which is preceded by an acute vowel.

To get rid of these anomalies, the Māhabhāshya proposes several alternatives, two of which will be mentioned here. The first proposal is to divide this composite sūtra into two parts : (1) उदात्तयणः परस्य अनुदात्तस्य स्वरितो भवति "an unaccented vowel becomes svarita when it follows after an udātta-yaṇ". (2) स्वरितयणश्च परस्य अनुदात्तस्य स्वरितो भवति "an unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when following a svarita yaṇ" and in this second sūtra, we shall read the anuvṛitti of udātta-yaṇ from the preceding half. So that this half will mean : उदात्तयण इत्येवं यो निर्वृत्तः स्वरितः, तस्य यणः परस्य अनुदात्तस्य स्वरितो भवति ॥ The svarita must have been obtained by the application of the first half of this sūtra and *this* svarita should be changed to यण, which would change the anudātta into svarita. So that the स्वरित यणः means this *particular* svarita obtained by the application of this very sūtra.

The second proposal is not to read svarita into the sūtra at all. The svarita in सकृल्ल्याशा would then be explained by udātta-yanah rule. सकृल्ल् + इ + आशा = सकृल्ल् + श् + आशा ॥ Here इ is udātta-yaṇ. This will cause आ to become svarita. The intervening svarita श् is considered as not existent for the purposes of accent स्वरविधौ ह्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् ॥ Nor is this श् to be considered as sthāni-vad to इ by I. i. 57, for in applying the rule of accent, such a substitute is not considered as sthānivat by I. i. 58.

Why do we say "of udātta and svarita"? Observe बैरी + आशाँ = बैयाशा, so also शार्ङ्गरव्याशा ॥ Here the semi-vowel replaces an unaccented ई, and is अनुदात्त यण ॥ These words are first acute owing to निन् accent (IV. i. 73).

Why do we say "an unaccented vowel becomes svarita"? Observe कुमार्यञ्च, किशोर्यञ्च ॥ The word अञ्च is acutely accented on the first by लिन् accent. (VI. i. 193).

एकादेश उदात्तेनोदात्तः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादेशः, उदात्तेन, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तेन सहानुदात्तस्य य एकादेशः स उदात्तो भवति ॥

5. The single substitute of an unaccented with an udātta vowel is udātta.

The word "of an anudātta" is understood here. An unaccented vowel,

which combined with the preceding udâtta vowel remains as a single substitute, becomes udâtta. Thus for the udâtta इ of अग्नि and for the case-ending औ which is anudâtta, there is always substituted long ई single by VI. 1. 102. This single substitute will be udâtta according to the present sūtra, as अग्नी^३ ॥ Similarly वा^३, वृक्ष^३: वृक्षे^३: ॥

Why do we say "with udâtta vowel"? Observe पचन्ति, यजन्ति ॥ Here पच् + शप् + अन्ति = पँच् + अ + अन्ति । Here शप् is anudâtta by III. 1. 4, so also अन्ति by VI. 1. 186. The ekâdeśa of these two non-accented अ will be anudâtta. In forming this para-rûpa ekâdeśa by VI. 1. 97, the svarita of the अ of शप् caused by VIII. 4. 66 is considered as invalid or asiddha.

Other examples are कृ वोऽद्वाः (Rig. V. 61. 2) and क्वावरं मरुतः ॥ The word वः is anudâtta by VIII. 1. 21. read with VIII. 1. 18. The word अँद्वः is acutely accented on the first, as it is formed by adding कृन् to अश् (Up. I. 151). The स् of वस् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66), which is again changed to व (VI. 1. 113). Thus वोऽद्व ॥ Here अ becomes pûrva-rûpa by VI. 1. 109, which is udâtta. कृ is formed from क्रिस् by अन् affix (V. 3. 12 and VII. 2. 105) and is svarita (VI. 1. 185). The word अँवर is acutely accented on the first by the Phi^३ II. 6. The single long substitute is udâtta.

स्वरितो वा ऽनुदात्ते पदादौ ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितः, वा, अनुदात्ते, पदादौ ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्ते पदादौ उदात्तेन सह य एकादेशः स स्वरितो वा भवत्युदात्तो वा ॥

6. The single substitute of an unaccented vowel, standing at the beginning of a word, with an udâtta vowel, may optionally be svarita or udâtta.

Thus सु + उत्थितः = सूँत्थितः or सूँत्थितः ; वि + ईक्षते = वीँक्षते or वीँक्षते; वसुकः + असि = वसुकोँसि or वसुकोँसि ॥ Here the word सु is a Karmaprayachanīya by I. 4. 94, when it is compounded by प्राक्समास with the Past Participle, the Avayayibhāva compound retains the accent of its first member (VI. 2. 2), and so it is acutely accented on the first, and the rest are anudâtta. Thus the udâtta ई of सु is compounded with the anudâtta उँ of उत्थितः which stands at the beginning of a Pada, and so the ekâdeśa is optionally svarita. In वीँक्षते and वसुकोँसि also the verbs ईक्षते and असि lose all accent by VIII. 1. 28 and so ई and अ become anudâtta, which when compounded with वि and वसुका become optionally svarita.

The word स्वरितः is employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra may have well stood as वाऽनुदात्ते पदादौ ॥ In this form of the sūtra, the udâtta of the preceding sūtra would become optional when the second member is a word beginning with anudâtta. Udâtta being optional, in the other alternative, where there will not be udâtta, the svarita will be substituted by reason of the nearness in position.

Why do we say "anudatta beginning"? Observe देवदत्तोऽय ॥ Here ईय begins with udatta and not anudatta, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say "beginning of a word"? Observe वृक्षैः, वृक्षाः, वृक्षैः and वृक्षाः, where anudatta case-endings are not beginnings of words.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita this is a vyavasthita-vibhāṣā; in this wise. There will *necessarily* be svarita (1) where a long ई is the single substitute of (इ + इ) or of two short इ, (2) where there is pūrva-rupa by the application of एरूपशान्तात् अति (VI. 1. 109). There will be udatta where a long vowel comes in. Thus in वि + इवम् = वि + इवम् in वीक्षुं ज्योतिर्द्वये, the long ई is substituted for two short इ's. This substitution of a long ई for two short इ's is technically called प्रभेदः ॥ Where there is Pras'lesha, the long ई is *necessarily* svarita. Similarly when there is अभिनिहतसन्धिः i. e. the peculiar sandhi taught in VI. 1. 109. Thus तदवदन्, सोऽयमागात् ॥ So also where there is क्षेपः सन्धिः i. e. the substitution of a semi-vowel in the room of an udatta or svarita vowel, as अभ्यासि ॥ The above rules about svarita are thus summarised in the Prātiśākhya: इकारयोश्च प्रभेदे क्षेपानिनिहेतु च ॥ But where a long ई is substituted as a single substitute for इ + ई (one of the इ's being long), there it must *always* be acute. As अस्य दलोको द्विवीयते (Rig. 1. 190. 4). The words दिवि + ईयते are compounded into दिवीयते ॥ The word दिवि Locative singular is finally acute by VI. 1. 171. ईयते is from the Divādi root इङ् गतौ, and has lost its accent by VIII. 1. 28.

नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, प्रातिपदिक, अन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकस्य पदस्य योन्यो नकारस्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

प्रातिपदिकम् ॥ अङ्गो नलोपप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. The न् at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a Pada (I. 4. 17), is elided.

The word पदस्य 'of a Pada' is understood in this sūtra. Thus राजा, राजभ्याम्, राजभिः, राजता, राजतरः, राजतमः ॥ The Nominal stem राजन् gets the designation of Pada, before these affixes, by I. 4. 17.

Why do we say 'of a Prātipadika or Nominal stem'? Observe अहन्नहिम् ॥ Here अहन् is a verb, the 3rd Per. Sg. Imperfect (लङ्) of the root हन् ॥

Why do we say 'at the end'? If the word अन्तस्य had not been used in the sūtra, then the sūtra would have stood thus नलोपः प्रातिपदिकस्य; and as the word पदस्य is understood here, the sūtra would have meant, there is elision of न्, *where ever it may be*, of a Pada called stem. So that the न् of नराभ्याम् would also have required elision. In fact, the genitive case here in पदस्य is not sthāna shashṭhī, but viśeṣaṇa shashṭhī, नलोप अन्तमहर्ण पञ्चधिकारस्य विशेषणस्यात् ॥

Q. But even if you use the word अन्त in the sūtra, it is compounded with the word प्रातिपदिक, and the sense of the sūtra will be "न् which is at the

end of a pratipadika, which (prātīpadika) is a portion of a pada" &c. and not "नृ which is at the end of a pada". So that the rule will not apply to अहन्तराभ्यां but will apply to राजानौ &c? Ans. The word प्रतिपदिक is not compounded, with the word अन्त in the sūtra. It is used without any case-affix, on the analogy of Chhandas usage. In fact, it is in the genitive case, the affix being elided by VII. 1. 39.

Vārt: The prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of the न of अहन् ॥ As अहः, In अहर् the case-affix सु is luk-elided by VII. 1. 23, the pratyaya-lakshana is prohibited by I. 1. 63, and hence the नृ of अहन् is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 69. अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ For the rules VIII. 2. 68 and 69 by which the final of अहन् is changed to र्, are asiddha with regard to this present rule requiring elision of नृ, hence this vārtika.

Q. There is no necessity of this vārtika, for the subsequent rules VIII. 2. 69, 68 will debar नलोप ॥ Ans. But ह and र are considered asiddha for the purposes of न elision. The ह and र would have debarred न elision, had they otherwise found no scope. But they have their scope. *Q.* Where have they their scope? Ans. In the penultimate अ i.e. in the अ preceding the नृ ॥ *Q.* The very fact that the author has used the word अहन् in the sūtra VIII. 2. 68, shows that ह does not replace अ but नृ ॥ Ans. If so, then र will find scope in the Vocative, हे अहन् where नृ is retained by VIII. 2. 8, and it will be this नृ which will be replaced by र्, as ह अहर् and so also हे दीर्घादि निहाय !

The word दीर्घाहन् is a Bahuvrihi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the नृ changed to र् by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to इ (VI. 1. 114). In हे अहन्! the नृ is not elided by the option of the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 8.

To remove these objections, they say, the word अहन् which is used in VIII. 2. 68 is in nominative singular without the elision of नृ, and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन् ॥ The one indicates the exact form, showing that the नृ is not elided ; and by the second word the ह is ordained for this final नृ ॥

न डिसंबुद्धोः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, डि, सम्बुद्धोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डौ परतः संबुद्धौ च नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ङाबुत्तरपदे प्रतिषेधस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ वा नपुंसकानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. (But such नृ) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debar the elision of नृ, which otherwise would have taken place by the preceding sūtra. The examples of non-elision of नृ in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परमे व्योमन् (Rig. I. 164. 39), आग्ने चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् ॥ Here the sign of the Locative, namely, इ (ङि) is elided by VII. 1. 39. In the Vocative Singular, the नृ is not elided as हे राजन्, हे तक्षन् ॥

Q. When ङि or the Vocative is elided, the preceding stem is no longer a Prâtipadika, and the stem does not get the designation of पद before the affix but is न्, hence where is the necessity of making the present prohibitory rule, when the elision of न् would not have taken place in the Locative and Vocative singular, by any rule?

Ans. The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of न्, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (jñâpaka), that a word retains the designation of prâtipadika, though an affix has been elided after it and though such elided affix may produce its effect (I. 2. 45 read with I. 1. 62). Nor will such elided affix give the designation of Bha (भ) to such a stem. Thus राज्ञः पुरुषः = राजपुरुषः, here the न् is elided by considering the word राजन् as a prâtipadika, even after the elision of the Genitive affix in the compound, and it is not a Bha, which would have required the elision of न् by VI. 4. 134.

Vart :—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpurusha, the न् is elided : as, चर्मणि तिला अस्य = चर्म तिलः ॥

In हे राजवृन्धारक ! the first member राजन् does not retain its न् by the present sūtra, because the whole compound, as such, is in the Vocative case, and not the word राजन् ॥ In fact, there can be no compound, which in its analysis, will give the first member as a Vocative word.

Vart :—Optionally so in the neuter nouns. As हे चर्मन्, हे चर्म !

मादुपधायाश्च मतोर्वोऽयवादिभ्यः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, आत्, उपधायाः, च, मतोः, चः, अ यवादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्ताद् मकारोपधादवर्णान्तादवर्णोपधाच्चोत्तरस्य मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति यवादिभ्यस्तु परतो न भवति ॥

9. For the म् of the affix मत् is substituted च, if the stem ends in म् or अ (and आ) or if these are in the penultimate position; but not after यव and the rest.

After a stem ending in म् or having म् as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in अ or आ, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted च् for the म् of मत् ॥ First after stems ending in म्, as किंवन् (क्विवान्), शंवन् (शंवान्). Secondly म् penultimate : as क्षमीवान्, वाडिमीवान् ॥ Thirdly a stem ending in अ or आ, as वृक्षवान्, दृक्षवान्, खट्वावान्, मालावान् ॥ Fourthly अ or आ in the penultimate : as—पयस्वान्, यशस्वान्, भास्वान् ॥

Why do we say “म or अ ending or म or अ penultimate”? Observe अग्निमान्, वायुमान् ॥ Why do we say “with the exception of यव &c”? Observe यवमान्, इल्मिमान्, उर्मिमान् ॥

The following is the list of यवादि words.

1. धव, 2. हस्मि, 3. उन्मि, 4. भूमि, 5. कृपि, 6. कुष्वा, 7. वषा, 8. ब्राक्षा, 9. प्राक्षा ॥
 These words either end in म and अ or have these as their penultimate.
 10. ध्रजि, 11. ध्वजि, 12. सस्जि. These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. 13. हारन्,
 14. ककुन्, 15 गरन् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इक्षु, 17. मधु, 18. द्रुम,
 19. मण्ड, 20. ध्रुम ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

This is an ākritigaṇa. Wherever in a word, the म् of मतुप् is not changed to व्, though the rules require it, that word should be classified under ववादि class. In the secondary word नार्मत् (= नृमत् इव), the व् change has not taken place, because the अ is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being ऋ ॥

The word मात् in the sūtra is the Ablative of म, i. e. of म् + अ; it is a Sa-māhāra Dvandva of these two letters.

झयः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ झयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झयन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

10. The ह् is substituted for the म् of मत् after a stem ending in a mute consonant.

As अग्निधित्वान् मामः, उवदिवत्त्वान् घोषः, विश्वेदेवान् बलाहकः, इन्द्रो मरुत्त्वान्, रपद्वाग् देवाः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये मतोर्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

11. The च् is substituted for म् of मत्, when the word so formed is a Name.

As अहीवती, कपीवती, ऋषीवती, छुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI. 3. 120.

आसन्दीवद् अष्टिवच्छक्रीवत्कक्षीवदुमण्चर्मण्वती ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसन्दीवत्, अष्टीवत्, चक्रीवत्, कक्षीवत्, रुमण्वत्, चर्मण्वती ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्दीवद् अष्टीवत् चक्रीवत् कक्षीवद् रुमण्वत् चर्मण्वती इत्येतानि संज्ञायां निपात्यन्ते ॥

12. The following Names are irregularly formed :
 āsandīvat, aṣṭhīvat, chakrīvat, kakshīvat, rumanvat, charman-
 vatī.

The change of म् to व् in these was obtained from the last sūtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. आसन्दीवत् is from the stem आसन which is here changed to आसन्दी ॥ As आसन्दीवान् मामः, आसन्दीवद् अहिस्थलम् ॥ As in the following śloka :

आसन्दीवति धान्याद् रुक्मिणं हरितस्रजम् ।

अद्वं बबन्ध सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजयः ॥

When not a name, we have आसनवान् ॥ Others say, that there is a separate and distinct stem आसन्दी, as in the sentence औदुम्बरी राजासन्दी भवति ॥ The change of म् to व् after this word would take place regularly by the last sūtra : its mention here, according to these authors, is merely explanatory. 2. अष्टीवत् is from

अस्थि which is changed to अष्टी ॥ As अष्टीवान् the name of a particular portion of body; the knee-joints. Otherwise अस्थिवान् ॥ 3. चक्रीवत् is from चक्र which is changed to चक्री, as चक्रीवान् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have चक्रवान् ॥ चक्रीवन्ति सरोहविर्जानानि भवन्ति is a Vedic example. It means सारस्वते सरोजमृगानि सदो हविर्धानानि, न श्वेकवा-
 यस्थितानि, तानि तत्र तत्र कर्षणाय चक्रयुक्तानि भवन्ति ॥ 4. कक्षीवत् is from कक्ष्या, there is vocalisation of य and the lengthening is by VI. 4. 2. कक्षीवान् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कक्ष्यावान् ॥ 5. रुमण्क्त् is from लवण which is changed to रुमण् ॥ Otherwise we have लवणवान् ॥ Others say, that there is a distinct word रुमन्, and the न् is not elided, but changed to ण् ॥ Or that the affix मन् takes the augment जुद् ॥ 6. चर्मण्वती is from चर्मन्, there is non-elision of न् and its change to ण् ॥ Or मन् has taken जुद् augment. The Charmanvati is the name of a river. Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥

उदन्वानुदधौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदन्वान्, उदधौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदन्वानिस्तुल्यकस्य मत्तादुदन्मावो निपात्यते उदधौ संज्ञायाम् विषये ॥

13. The word उदन्वान् is irregularly formed, in the sense of "a sea".

It is derived from उदक 'water' with the affix मन् ॥ उदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like तटाक &c. The affix कि is added by III. 3. 93, and उदक changed to उद् by VI. 3. 58, and thus we have उदधिः ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a sea"? Observe उदकवान् घटः 'a pot having water'. Here the main idea is not that of "holding or containing", but simply the general fact of possessing water: a human being may also possess water in the same way.

राजन्वान्सौराज्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्वान्, सौराज्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्वानिति निपात्यते, सौराज्ये गम्यमाने ॥

14. Also राजन्वान्, when the sense is of a good government.

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देशः, राजन्वती पृथ्वी ॥ The affix मन्प् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise. Otherwise राजवान् ॥

छन्दसीरः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, इ, रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये इवर्णान्ताङ्गान्ताद्योत्तरस्य मतोर्विस्वं भवति ॥

15. In the Chhandas छ् is substituted for the म् of मन्, when the stem ends in इ (or ई) or र् ॥

To take some examples of a stem ending in इ, as चिक्वती याज्यानुवाक्या भवति; इरियो मे इन् त्वा; अधिपति वती जुहोति; चतुर्गन्धानिब; भारेवानेतु मा विशात् (भारेवान् from रवि with vocalisation). सरस्वतीवान्, भारतीवान्, इधीयांवरुः ॥ As all rules have

optional force in the Chhandas, we have no change here सप्तर्षिमन्तम्, ऋषिमान्, ऋतीमान् सूयं ते यावापृथिवीमन्त ॥ Of stems ending in र we have गीर्वाण्, धूर्वाण्, आशीर्वाण् ॥

अनो जुह् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, जुह् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीति वर्तते ऽनन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्मुडागमो भवति छन्दासि विषये ॥

16. The affix मत् gets the augment जुह्, in the Chhandas, after a stem ending in अन् ॥

As अक्षण्वन्तः कर्णवन्तः सखायः; अस्थण्वन्तं यदनस्यां विभक्तिं (Rig. I. 164. 4), अक्षण्वन्ता लाङ्गलेन; दीर्घण्वती, मूर्धन्यवती ॥

The word अक्षण्वन् is thus formed: आक्षि + मतुप् = अक्ष् + अन् + मत् (अनङ् is substituted for the final of akshi by VII. 1. 76) = अक्षमत् (the न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Now we add the augment जुह् ॥ If this augment is added to मतुप्, as मन्तुप् then it becomes a portion of मतुप्, and this न् would be changed to ह् by VIII. 3. 9 read with I. 1. 54, and not the letter म्, because न् intervenes. If we add this augment to the end of the stem, then in अक्षण्वन्ता &c. we cannot change it to ञ् because of the prohibition in VIII. 4. 37, and the augment being जुह्, the न् would be changed to ह् by VIII. 3. 7 in छुपयिन्तरः &c (VIII. 2. 17). The first view, however, is the correct one and the difficulty in its acceptance is obviated by जुहोऽसिद्धत्वात् तस्य च वत्त्वं न भवति; ततः परस्य च भवति; as shown above.

The जुह् augment being considered as asiddha, is not changed to ह्, but the letter following it, is so changed. Thus अक्षन् (VII. 1. 76) + मत् = अक्ष + मत् (the न् of the stem is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Add the augment जुह् now, and we have अक्ष + न्मत् ॥ The augment according to VIII. 2. 1, is asiddha, so that according to VIII. 2. 9, ह् is substituted for म्, and not for न्, as would have been required by I. 1. 54.

नाद् घस्य ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नात्, घस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तादुत्तरस्य घसंज्ञकस्य मुडागमो भवति छन्दासि विषये ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ भूरिवाङ्मत् जुह् वक्तव्यः ॥ वाः ॥ रयिन् ईकारान्तादेशो च परतः ॥

17. In the Chhandas, the affixes तर and तम receive the augment जुह् after a stem in न् ॥

The affixes तर and तमप् are called घ ॥ Thus छुपयिन् + तर = छुपयि + तर (VIII. 2. 7) = छुपयि + त्तर (VIII. 2. 17) = छुपयिन्तरः ॥ So also वस्युहन्तमः ॥

Vart:—The augment जुह् is added to these affixes after भूरिवाङ्मत्; as भूरिवाङ्मत्तरः (III. 2. 74, the affix is वनिष्).

Vart:—Long ई is the substitute of the final of रयिन् before तर and तम ॥ The word रयिन् is formed by the affix इनि in the sense of मतुप् ॥ The final न् is first elided by VIII. 2. 7, and then for the short इ of रयि the long ई is substituted by the present vartika, If the long ई were substituted for the final न् of रयिन् as रयिई + तर, then this long ई being asiddha, it could not be compounded by ekādeśa with the preceding इ into ई, and the form would always remain रयिईतरः ॥ As रयीतरः, and रयीतमं रयीनाम् ॥ Or this ई may be considered to have come after रयि in the sense of मतुप् ॥

कृपो रो लः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृपः, रः, लः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृपेर्द्धा रो रेफस्य लकारदेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृपणकृपाणकृपीडकर्पूरादयोपि कृपेरेव द्रष्टव्याः ॥

वा० ॥ बालमूलधूसुरालमङ्गुलीनां वा रोऽमापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ कपिलकाशीनां सताछन्दसोर्वा रो लमापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

18. For the र of the root कृप्, there is substituted ल् ॥

The र here merely indicates the sound, and includes both the single consonant र् and the same consonant of the vowel क् ॥ So also with ल् ॥ So that for the single र् there is substituted ल्; and for र् when a portion of क्, the ल् is substituted, i. e. क् becomes ल् ॥ Thus कृप् = क्लप्, as in the sūtra लुटि च क्लपः (I. 3. 93). कल्पा, कल्पायै, कल्पायः ॥ क्लप्तः, क्लप्तवान् ॥

The word कृपा is derived from the root कृप् by vocalisation, as it has been enumerated in Bhidādi class (कृपेः संप्रसारणे च III. 3. 104). The vocalised root-form कृप is not to be taken here, as it is a lakṣhanika form.

Vart:—The words कृपण, कृपाण, कृपीड, कर्पूर &c. are also from कृप् ॥ Or by the Uṇādi diversity, the ल् change does not take place.

Vart:—Optionally so of बाल &c. As, बालः or बारः, मूलम् or मूरम्, लघु or रघु, असुरः or असुलः, अलम् or अरम्, अङ्गुलिः or अङ्गुरिः ॥

Vart:—Optionally so in the Vedas, or when names, of कपिलका &c. as कपिरकः or कपिलकः, तिल्पिलीकम् or तिल्पिलीकम्, लोमाणि or रोमाणि, पांशुरं or पांशुलं, कर्म or कल्म, शुकः or शुक्लः, कल्मषं, कर्मषं ॥

Some say 'र and ल are one': and operations regarding र may be performed with regard to ल ॥

उपसर्गस्यायतौ ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप नर्गस्य, अयतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयतौ परत उपसर्गस्य यो रेहस्तस्य लकार अ. ह रो भवति ॥

19. ल is substituted for the र of a Preposition, when अयते follows.

Thus पलायते, धायते ॥ Here arises the question, does the word अयति qualify the word र्, or does it qualify the word Preposition. In the first view, the sūtra would mean, "the र् immediately followed by अयति is changed to ल" ॥ But as a matter of fact, र् is never immediately followed by अयति ॥ Thus in प्र + अयति or परा + अयति, the letter अ and आ intervene respectively. The ekādeśa sandhi of these, will make र् immediately followed by अयति; but the ekādeśa, being sthānivat will prevent it. This difficulty however, is overcome by the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात्, for otherwise the rule will be useless. For the same reasons, परि + अयते = पल्ययते, though here य् intervenes between र् and अयते ॥ In short, the intervention of one letter is considered as no intervention.

In the second view, the sūtra would mean when a Preposition is followed by ayat then its र् is changed to ल, and none of these difficulties will arise

with regard to the above forms. But then would arise a fresh difficulty, for the र of प्रति would also require to be changed into ल ॥ Some say, that प्रति is never followed by अयति; while others hold that the form प्रत्ययते (प्रति + अयते) is valid. According to the first view, the valid form is प्रत्ययते ॥ The स् of the Prepositions इस् and निस् is changed to र, but this र is not changed to ल, because it is asiddha: thus we have the forms निरयणम्, दुरयणम् ॥ But there is a preposition निर् also the र of which is changed to ल, as निलयणम् ॥ See VII. 2. 46. According to the Siddhānta Kaumudī, there is a Preposition दुर also, which gives दुरयते ॥

प्रो यङि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रः, यङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृ इत्येतस्य धातो रेफस्य लकार आदेशो भवति यङि परतः ॥

20. ल is substituted for the र of गृ in the Intensive.

Thus निजेगिल्यते, निजेगिल्येते, निजेगिल्यन्ते ॥ The root गृ takes यङ्, when the sense of contempt is conveyed, with regard to the action denoted by the root, (III. I. 24). गहितं गिलति = जेगिल्यते ॥

Some say that प्र of the sūtra includes the two roots गृ (गिरति Tud. 117) and गृ (गृणाति Kry. 28). Others hold that the Tudādi grī is only taken and not the Kryādi. The Kryādi grī never takes the Intensive form, no example of which is to be met in literature.

Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe निगीर्यते with the Passive affix यक् ॥

अचि विभाषा ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ प्रत्यये परतो षो रेफस्य विभाषा लकारादेशो भवति ॥

21. The र of grī is optionally changed to ल, before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As निगिरति or निगिलति, निगरणम् or निगलनम्, निगारकः or निगालकः ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhāṣā, the optional forms have particular meanings. Thus गलः meaning 'neck' is always with ल; while गरः 'poison' is always with र.

In निगार्यते or निगाल्यते, the elision of नि is considered sthānivad, and hence this option, though the actual affix begins with य ॥ Obj.—The sthānivad-bhāva rule is invalid here by VIII. 2. 1. Ans. The rule पूर्वान्नासिद्धं does not hold good with regard to the rules of संयोगादिलोप, लत्व and णत्व on the maxim "तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलक्षणत्वेन" ॥

Or the र will be first changed to ल, as being antaranga, and then the नि will be elided.

The forms गिरौ, गिरः are either from the Kryādi root grī, or /-change has not taken place on the maxim धातोः स्वरूपमद्वये सत्प्रत्यये विज्ञानम् and as the

affixes औ and अः are not affixes which are ordained after a verb, but are affixes added to nouns, hence the ळ change has not taken place. In fact the words 'an affix beginning with a vowel' in the sūtra, means "a verbal affix beginning with a vowel," and not a noun affix. These are the Dual and Plural of the Nominative case of गृ formed with the affix क्विप् ॥

परेश्च घाङ्कयोः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च, घ-अङ्कयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि इत्यितस्य यो रेफस्तस्य पश्चाद्दे ऽङ्कशाब्दे च परतो विभाषा लकार आदेशो भवति ॥

वर्तितम् ॥ योगे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. The र् of परि is changed to ह्र, before gha and anka.

As परिपिः or पलिपिः, पर्यङ्कः or पल्यङ्कः ॥ The word च here means the word-form च, and not the technical च of तरप् and तमप् ॥ See III. 3. 84 by which हन् is replaced by च ॥

Vart:—So also, it must be stated, before the word योगः ॥ As, परियोगः or पलियोगः ॥

संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगान्तस्य, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तस्य पदस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

As गोमान्, यवमान्, कृतवान् and हतवान् ॥ In श्रियान्, भूयान्, the ह though subsequent in order, does not prevent the operation of this rule, because it is asiddha (VIII. 2. 66). Thus श्रियस् + स् = श्रियन्स् + स् (VII. 1. 70), = श्रियन्स् (VI. 1. 68) = श्रियन् (VIII. 2. 66) = श्रियन् (VIII. 2. 23) = श्रियान् (VI. 4. 8). But though the ह्स् does not debar lopa, it debars the जश् change. By VIII. 2. 39, the final स् required to be changed to a letter of जश् class; ह् prevents it. As यशः, पयः ॥

For ह्स् is ordained even where the present संयोगान्तलोप applies and where it does not apply. Thus it is ordained in श्रियन् where the present sūtra applies, as well as in पयर् where this sūtra does not apply. But the जश्स् rule (VIII. 2. 39) covers the whole ground of ह्स्, hence if जश्स् rule were not debarred by ह्स्, the latter would find no scope. Therefore ह्स् debars जश्स् to justify its existence, but it does not debar संयोगान्तलोपः for it still has scope left to it else where.

In दध्यञ् and मध्यञ् formed from दधि + अञ् and मधु + अञ्, by changing ह् and उ to द् and म्, we have दध्य् + अञ् and मध्य् + अञ्, where द् and म् are final in a pada, and so they require to be elided. It is, however, not done, because द्यञ् substitution is a Bahiranga operation, as it depends upon two words and consequently, is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule, which depends on one word only.

Why do we say 'of a Pada'? Observe गोमन्तो, गोमन्तः ॥

रात्सस्य ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, सस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तपदस्य यो रेफस्तस्मादुत्तरस्यान्यस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

24. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus अक्षाः and अस्ताः for अक्षास् and अस्तास् the Aorist of क्षृ and स्तर in the following passages: गोभिरक्षाः, प्रत्यञ्चमस्ताः ॥ The ईद् is not added as a Vedic diversity. See VII. 3. 97.

So also मातुः, पितुः for मातुस् and पितुस् ॥ Here by VI. 1. 111, the ऋ + अ of मातृ + अस् is changed to ऋ, which is followed by र् by I. 1. 51.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after र् by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of स् after र् shows, that this is a *niyama* rule. So that any other letter than स् following after र् will not be dropped. Thus ऊर्क् from ऊर्क् + क्विप् (III. 2. 177), here ऋ is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30, and to क् by VIII. 4. 56. Also अमार्द् from अर्द् in लृद् the तिप् (तृ) is elided by VI. 1. 18; there is *vṛddhi* by VII. 2. 114, the ऋ is changed to ए by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to इ VIII. 4. 53 and finally to द् (चर्) ॥

धि च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धकारादौ प्रत्यये परतः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—धि सकारे सिचौ लोपश्चकारादौति प्रयोजनम् ।
आशाश्वं तु कथं जशस्वं सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥
सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्छ्रुतिश्चापि न विद्यते ।
लुङ्भापि न मूर्द्धन्ये महणं सेदि दुष्यति ॥
धिसिभसोर्न सिध्येत तस्मात्सिद्धमहणं न तत् ।
छान्सो वर्णलोपो वा यथेष्टकर्त्तरमभवे ॥

25. The स् is dropped before an affix beginning with ध ॥

As अलविध्वम्, अलविद्धम्, अपविध्वम्, अपविद्धम् for अलविस्वम् and अपविस्वम् ॥ Had this स् (of सिच्) not been elided; then स् would be first changed to ऋ, and then to a letter of जश् class (VIII. 4. 53), ध् would never be heard even optionally, though so required by VIII. 3. 79, but the forms would be always with ऋ, as अलविद्धम् &c. ॥

From an *ishti*, the elision of स् is confined to the स् of the Aorist सिच्, and not to any other स् ॥ Thus स् is not elided in चकाद्धि in चकाद्धि पलितं शिरः (हे शिरः पलितं सच् चकाद्धि शोभस्वेत्यर्थः). It is the Imperative of चकास् the तिप् is changed to हि, and हि to धि (VI. 4. 101), and स् to इ by VIII. 4. 53. Similarly it does not apply to पयस् धावति, where स् is changed to ह् and then to उ (VI. 1. 114)

=पयो धावति ॥ The elision of स् in सन्धिः from वस् with क्तिन्, and in बध्नाम् from भस् in the Imperative with ताम्, is a Vedic diversity. But according to Patanjali चकाधि is the proper form; while in पयो धावति the antaranga रु debaras this bahiraṅga स् elision.

Obj.—If so, how do you form आशाध्वं, by the elision of स् of शास्; for स् would not be elided? Ans.—The स् is not here elided but changed to जश् letter, by VIII. 2. 39. Obj. If so, स् may always be changed to जश् letter, and there is no need of eliding it; in pronouncing, it will make no difference, whether you pronounce with one consonant or two, e.g. आशाद्धम् or आशाध्वं ॥ Moreover by so doing, you will shorten the sūtra VIII. 3. 78, by omitting the word लुङ् from it. For the forms like अव्योङ्ङम्, अलोङ्ङम्, will be evolved regularly by changing स् of सिच् to ष; and the ध after it will be changed to ङ, and then ष changed to ङ् by जश्त्व (VIII. 4. 53). Ans.—So far it will be all right, but in सेद् Aorist we shall never get the alternative forms अलविङ्वम् &c, though we may get the form अलविङ्ङम् (VIII. 3. 79). Therefore, the word सिच् should be taken.

Obj. —If सिच् is to be taken here, then the स् of वस् and भस् will not be dropped, and we shall not get the forms सन्धिः and बध्नां in the passages सन्धिश्च मे सपीतिश्च मे, and बध्नां ते हरीधानाः ॥ Therefore, the present sūtra should not be confined to सिच् only. Ans.—We shall explain सन्धिः by saying, that it is a word derived from सच्, and so also बध्नां from the root बन्ध् ॥

[N. B.—The word सन्धिः is generally thus derived; अद् + क्तिन् = वस् + ति (II. 4. 39) = ष्स् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = ष् + ति (VIII. 2. 26). Had the present rule been confined to सिच्, the स् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 26. See VI. 4. 100, where these two forms are developed]. Or we may explain these forms as Vedic irregularity, by which letters are sometimes dropped, and so वस् and भस् have lost their स् ॥ That letters are sometimes dropped in the Chhandas, we see in passages like the following इष्कर्त्तरिमध्वरे for निष्कर्त्तरिमध्वरे; तुभ्येदमग्ने for तुभ्यमिदमग्ने; आम्बानां चरुः for नाम्बानां चरुः; अव्याधिनी रुगणः or अव्याधिनीः सुगणाः ॥

The above discussion is summarised in the following

Kārikā:—धिसकारे सिचोलोपचकाद्धीति प्रयोजनम्, "This rule is confined to the elision of the स् of सिच् only, for the sake of preserving the स् in चकाद्धि" ॥

आशाध्वं तु कथं? जश्त्वं सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥ "How then do you form आशाध्वं by the elision of स्? The स् is not elided but changed to a जश् letter".

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्, छुति आपि न विद्यते । लुङ्भापि न मूर्धन्ये ग्रहणं सेदि दुष्यति ॥ " If this be so, then let जश् come every where, for there is no difference in sound, moreover this will shorten VIII. 3. 78 by omitting the word लुङ् from it. The जश् cannot come every where, as the difficulty will be in सेद् Aorist". वसि भसोर्न सिध्येत, तस्मात् सिच् ग्रहणं न तद् । "The forms सन्धिः and बध्नां could not be formed

from वस् and भस् if the elision of स् were confined to सिच्. Hence सिच् should not be read into this sūtra."

छान्दसो वर्णलोपो वा यथेष्कर्त्तरिध्वरे " The elision of स् in सन्धिः and वक्ष्यां will be explained as a Vedic anomaly, for letters are often dropped in Vedic forms, as in इष्कर्त्तरिध्वरे instead of निष्कर्त्तरिध्वरे ॥"

झलो झलि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलो, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झल उत्तरस्य सकारस्य झलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

26. The स् is elided when it is preceded by a *jhal* consonant (any consonant except semi-vowels and nasals), and is followed by an affix beginning with a *jhal* consonant.

Thus अभिक्त for अभिक्त्त, अभिस्थाः for अभिक्त्स्थाः ॥ So also अष्णित्त, अष्णित्थाः, अवात्ताम्, अवात्त ॥ The last example may also be explained by VII. 4. 49; the elision of the स of सिच् being considered as asiddha, the स् of the root is changed to त् ॥

Why do we say 'of a *jhal* consonant'? Observe अमंस्त and अमंस्थाः ॥ Why do we say followed by a *jhal* consonant? Observe अभिक्त्ताताम्, अभिक्त्तत ॥

The स of this sūtra refers also to the स of सिच्; no other स is elided. As सोममद्युत् स्तोता; द्युत् स्थानम् ॥ Here the स of स्तोता and स्थानं, though preceded by a *jhal* letter त्, could never be elided as they do not form portion of *one* word.

ह्रस्वादङ्गात् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, अङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वान्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य सकारस्यलोपो भवति झलि परतः ॥

27. The स् is elided, before an affix beginning with a *jhal* consonant, when it is preceded by a stem ending in a short vowel.

As अकृतः, अहयाः ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel stem? Observe अय्योष्ट, अष्टोष्ट ॥ Why do we say 'after a stem'? Observe अकृषाः, अलाविष्टाम्, अलाविष्टुः अपाविष्टाम् and अपाविष्टुः ॥ Why do we say "before an affix beginning with a *jhal*"? Observe अकृषाताम्, अकृषत ॥

This lopa is also of the सिच्, therefore not here द्विष्टरां, द्विष्टनाम् ॥ Here to the word द्वि is added the affix युच् (V. 4. 18), and then the comparative affixes तर and तम with आम् (V. 4. 11). This स् is not dropped.

इट ईदि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, ईदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इट उत्तरस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ईदि परतः ॥

28. The स् is dropped after the augment इद्, if after this स् the augment ईद् follows.

Thus the Aorist-stem of लृ is अलाविस् (III. 1. 44; VII. 2. 35), the Personal ending त् gets the augment ईद् by VII. 3. 96; and by the present

sûtra, this स् between ह् and ई is dropped, and we have अलावीत्; so also, अवावीत्, असेवीत्, अकोपीत्, अमोपीत् ॥

Why do we say 'after the augment इद्'? Observe अकार्षीत्, अहार्षीत् ॥
Why when the augment इद् follows? Observe अलाविष्टम् अलाविषुः ॥

स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्कोः, संयोग-आद्योः, अन्ते, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्यान्ते यः संयोगः झलि परतो वा संयोगस्तदाद्योः सकारककारयोर्लोपो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ झलि सङीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The स् or क्, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped, before a jhal affix, and at the end of a word.

A conjunct consonant, having स् or क् as its first member, when coming at the end of a Pada, or when followed by a jhal beginning affix, loses its स् or क् ॥ Thus from the root लस् we have लग् and लग्नवान् before the jhal affix त् and तवत्; the substitution of न् for त् is considered asiddha for this purpose (VIII. 2. 1). So also साधुल् at the end of a Pada. Similarly मग्न्: मग्नवान्, साधुमक् from मस् ॥ So also with initial क्, as तद् from तश्; so also तद्, तद्वान्, काष्ठतद् ॥

Vart:—It should be rather stated that "before a jhal affix included in the pratyahâra सङ्" ॥ The सङ् is a pratyâhâra formed with the स of सन् (III.1.5) and the ङ् of मङिङ् (III. 4. 78). It thus includes all the kṛit affixes, and dhātu affixes i. e. affixes which come after a *verb* and not the Taddhita or the Feminine affixes. This Vârtika applies to all the preceding sûtras of this sub-division and is of use in the following places.

गिरौऽभोधिर्द्विष्टां च द्वयस्यः काष्ठश्चक्षुरः । कुञ्चाधुर्येति मा स्त्रैषु सत्वाशीनि भवांस्त्विति ॥

So that in गिरः there should not be the optional ल् by VIII. 2. 21. In अभोधिः, the स् of अभस् is not elided before धि as required by VIII. 2. 25. In द्विष्टां the rule VIII. 2. 27 does not apply. In द्वयस्यः the rule VIII. 2. 26 does not apply. In काष्ठश्चक्षुरः the rule VIII. 2. 29 is non-applicable. In कुञ्चा the rule VIII. 2. 30 does not apply. In धुर्यः (धुरं वदति) there is not lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Thus काष्ठश्चक्षुरात् ॥ Here क् would require to be elided as initial in a consonant, followed by a jhal consonant च ॥ काष्ठश्चक् is formed by adding क्षिप् to शक् ॥ But according to Patanjali, there can be formed no valid word from शक् with क्षिप्, *a fortiori*, no such word can be formed as काष्ठश्चक्षुरात् (काष्ठश्चक्षि तिष्ठति).

In वास्यर्यम्, काक्षर्यम्, the स् and क् are not elided, because स् is a Bahir-anga substitute and asiddha, and the word वास् काक्ष are not considered as Pada, ending in a conjunct consonant.

Why do we say "of स् and क्"? Observe नर्नस्ति, वर्वस्ति ॥

Why do we say 'initial in a conjunct consonant'? Observe पयः शक् ॥

Why do we say 'at the end of a word'? Observe तक्षिता, तक्षकः ॥

चोः कुः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ चोः, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्गस्य कवर्गदेशो भवति झलि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

30. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before a *jhal* affix, or at the end of a word.

Thus वक्ता, वक्तुम्, वक्तव्यम् and औदनपक् from पच् ॥ Similarly वक्ता, वक्तुम्, वक्तव्यम् and वाक् ॥

In कुञ्चा the feminine in दाप् of कुञ्च (कुङ्) by IV. 1. 4 list, the अ a palatal is followed by च a jhal letter, and therefore, it should be changed to a guttural. It is not so, because Pāṇini himself uses this word, in this form, in sūtra III. 2. 59. Or because the rule is confined to सङ् affixes only. Or the root is कुञ्च without इ and with a penultimate न्, and not अ as we find in Dhātupāṭha कुञ्च कौटिल्याल्पी भावयोः (Bhu. 200). With the elision of न् we have निकृषितिः before the क्तिन् affix (VI. 4. 24) कुषितः in Past Part. and अचोऽकुन् ॥ In निकृषितम् we cannot have the optional क्तिन् of the Nishṭhā by I. 2. 21, because the elision of the penultimate न् by VI. 4. 24 preceded on the basis of the affix being क्तिन्, thus कुन्च + क्त = कुञ्च + त ॥ This elision of न्, will not make the root उदुपधा for the purposes of the application of rule I. 2. 21, on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं सन्निपातस्य ॥ In fact, one of the reasons on which this maxim is based, is this very fact, that the elision of न् does not make the root उदुपधा for the purposes of making the affix non-क्तिन् ॥ The affix क्तिन् takes the augment इद् under VII. 2. 9 (vārt). The word कुङ् is formed from this root by क्तिन् affix (III. 2. 59): the final च् is first elided by VIII. 2. 23, and then अ is changed to ङ् by VIII. 2. 62. The rule VI. 4. 24 thus finds no scope here.

In this view of the case we say कुङ् is an irregular form of this root kunch, because it is so exhibited in III. 2. 59. There the anusvāra and parasavarṇa change of this न् to अ by VIII. 3. 24 being considered asiddha, there is no palatal अ, and hence there is no guttural change.

हो ङः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, ङः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारस्य ङकारदेशो भवति इति परतः पदान्ते च ॥

31. ङ is substituted for ह before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus सोढा, सोढुम्, सोढव्यम् ॥ The इद् is not added by VII. 2. 48, जलापाद्, तुरापाद् by ण्वि (III. 2. 63, VI. 3. 137 and VIII. 3. 56) बोढा, बोढुम्, बोढव्यं, प्रष्टवाद्, वित्तवाद् (III. 2. 64) from सङ् and बङ्, with the affixes न्, तुम्, त्वय्य and ण्वि ॥ For the न् of these affixes there is substituted घ by VIII. 2. 40, and this घ is changed to ङ by VIII. 4. 41, before which is dropped the first ह by VIII. 3. 13. For the ङ in प्रष्टवाद् either ङ् is substituted by VIII. 2. 39, or ह् by VIII. 4. 56.

दादेर्धातोर्धः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द-आदेः, धातोः, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दकारोर्धातोर्हकारस्य घकारदेशो भवति इति परतः पदान्ते ॥

32. Of a root beginning with द्, the घ is substituted for ह, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

For the final ह of a ह-beginning root, च is substituted under similar circumstances. As हग्धा, हग्धुच्, हग्धव्यच्, काष्ठधक्, शोग्धा, शोग्धुच्, शोग्धव्यच्, शोग्धुक्, from हृद् and दुह् ॥ For the त् of the affixes तृ &c. च is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the च becomes न by VIII. 4. 53. For the च in काष्ठधच् is substituted न by VIII. 2. 39, or क् by VIII. 4. 56, and ह becomes च by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with ह"? Observe लेडा, लेडुच्, लेडव्यच्, छुडेलिद् ॥

The force of the genitive case in धातोः is not to make it in apposition with the word शब्दः, but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole: so that it means "the word which begins with ह and forms part of a root, for the ह of such a part is substituted च." What does follow from it? The letter च is substituted in अधोच् also, which begins with अ ॥ For without the above explanation (धातोरावयवो यो शब्दोऽवस्तव्यवस्य हकारस्य &c), the च would have come in examples like मास्म धोक्, without the augment अ, but not where there was the augment अ ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवयोगा वक्ष्यी will appear necessary in sūtra VIII. 2. 37.

If it has the force of denoting a 'portion or member', how do you explain in the forms शोग्धा, शोग्धुच्, for here no *portion* is taken but the *whole* word? This will be explained on the maxim of व्यपदेशिवद् भावः "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach". (व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन्) ॥ Or we may explain the sūtra, by saying 'that root which begins with ह in its original enunciation in Dhātupāṭha'? Thus in original enunciation the root is लिह् not beginning with ह ॥ If a Derivative root be formed from it like शमलिह्य (शमलिहानिच्छति = शमलिह्यति), it is a root which begins with ह; the ह of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to च, for it is not a root of upadeśa. Therefore, when we add क्तिप् to this root, we get शमलिद् by VIII. 2. 31, and not शमलिक् ॥

वा द्रुहमुहष्णुहणिहाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, द्रुह, मुह, णुह, णिहाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ न्ह मुह णुह णिह इत्येतेषां धातूनां हकारस्य वा चकारदेशो भवति झलि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

33. The ह of druh, muh, shṇuh, and shṇih is optionally changed to च, before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

Thus द्रुहः, द्रोडा Or द्रोग्धा, मित्रधुक्, मित्रधुद्, मुह, उन्मोग्धा, उन्मोडा, उन्मुक्, उन्मुद्, झह, उत्त्रोग्धा, उत्त्रोडा, उत्त्रुक्, उत्त्रुद्, झिह, झेग्धा, झेडा, झिक्, झिद् ॥

The root द्रुह would have taken always च by the last sūtra, this makes it optional. The others would not have got च but for this sūtra.

These roots belong to Radhādi sub-class of Divādi gaṇa: and are

taught there in this very order (Div. 89-91). By belonging to Radhâdi sub-division, the ह् is optional (VII. 2. 45). Instead of making the sūtra बाहुवादीनाम्, this longer formation of the aphorism indicates that the rule applies to बाहुल्क also; as बाहुल्क or बाहुल्क ॥ See VII. 1. 6, for if the roots were taught not specifically but by गण, then the rule would not apply to yañ luk.

नहो धः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहः, धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहो हकारस्य धकारवेशो भवति झलि परे पदान्ते च ॥

34. The ह् of नह् is changed to ध before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

As नङ्गा, नङ्गुम्, नङ्गव्यम्, उपानत्, परीणत् ॥ The त् of the affixes न् &c, is changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40; and for the preceding ध is substituted ह् by VIII. 4. 53. उपानत् is formed by VIII. 2. 39, read with VIII. 4. 56. परीणत् is formed by क्तिप् as it belongs to सम्पदादि class, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 116, and ण-change by VIII. 4. 14. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only ह् been ordained in the sūtra, instead of ध; but the ordaining of ध is for the purposes of VIII. 2. 40, by which there should be ध for the participial त् &c, in नङ्गम्, and that there should not be the change of this Nishthâ त् into न by VIII. 2. 42. Thus नङ् + त् = नङ् + ध (VIII. 2. 40) = नङ्-धम् (VIII. 4. 53). But had the substitute been ह्, we should have नङ् + त् = नङ्ग by VIII. 2. 42.

आहस्थः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहः, थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो हकारस्य धकारवेशो भवति झलि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ह्रस्वो भेदछन्वसि ह्रस्वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

35. For the ह् of the root आह्, there is substituted थ before a jhal letter.

As ह्रस्वात्थ, किमात्थ ॥ The word आध्य becomes आत्थ by VIII. 4. 55. Why has the last mentioned substitute ध not been ordained here, for this ध would also have given the form आत्थ by चर change, as the थ is also changed to त्; and by so doing there would have been only one sūtra, instead of two i.e. आह्नहो ध् would have been enough? Making this separate substitute, is for the sake of indicating that the rule VIII. 2. 40, does not apply here. For had VIII. 2. 40, still applied, the substitute ध of the last sūtra would have been enough. The त् substitute, however, would have been the best.

The word झलि is understood here. Hence there is no change before vowel affixes, as आह, आहन्तुः, आहुः ॥

Vart:— In the Chhandas, थ is substituted for the ह् of ह् and मह् ॥ Thus गर्हमेन संभरति; मरुहस्य गृह्णाति; सामिधेन्यो जधिरे, उद्ग्राभञ्च निग्राभञ्च ब्रह्म देवा भवीवृधन् ॥

ब्रश्च भ्रस्ज सृज मृज यज राज भ्राज छशां थः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रश्च, भ्रस्ज, सृज, मृज, यज, राज, भ्राज, छ, शाम्, थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अथ भ्रस्ज सृज यज राज भाज इत्येतेषां छकारान्तानां शकारान्तानां च षकार आदेशो भवति झलि परतः पशन्ते च ॥

36. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, srij, mrij, yaj, rāj, and bhrāj, and for the final छ and श, there is substituted ष before a *jhal* letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus अदष् :—अटा, अटुष्, अटव्यम्, मूलवृद् ॥ भटा । भटुष् । भटव्यम् । धानाभृद् । सृज । सृटा । सृटुष् । सटव्यम् । रज्जुसृद् । वृज । मार्षा । मार्षुष् । मार्षव्यम् । कंसपरिवृद् । यज । यटा । यटुष् । यटव्यम् । उपयद् । राज । सम्राट् । स्वराट्, विराट्, विभ्राट् ॥ The श ending words would have been changed to जश्-letters and the others to Gutturals; this sūtra debaras that by ordaining ष ॥ In मूलवृद् and धानाभृद् there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, the स् is elided by VIII. 2. 19, and ष becomes जश्-letter झ, which becomes द by VIII. 4. 56. The word शब्दमाद् is formed by क्विप्, there is lengthening and no vocalisation.

The roots राज् and भाज् are never followed by a *jhal* beginning affix, because such affixes will always take इद् augment. These roots are, therefore, mentioned here, for the sake of the change of their ज् to ष, when at the end of a word. Some, however, form nouns like राटिः, भ्राटिः with क्तिन् affix from these roots by III. 3. 94, vārt., and इद् augment is prevented by VII. 2. 9.

Of roots ending in छ we have मच्छः—मटा, मटुष्, मटव्यम्, शब्दमाद् ॥ According to one view, the letter छ should not be mentioned in this sūtra: for by VI. 4. 19, छ is always changed to श, and this श will be changed to ष by the present sūtra. Others hold, that the change of छ to श by VI. 4. 19 is confined before क्तिन् or क्तिन् affixes, and therefore the mention of छ is necessary in this sūtra; moreover the ष substitution here, and the झ substitution in VI. 4. 19. refer to the conjunct letter च्छ (with the augment तुक्). For if it were not so, then छ alone being changed to श, the त् of तुक् would be changed to द्, and we should have पृद्दः instead of पृट् ॥

Of roots ending in श् we have लिशः—लेटा, लेटुष्, लेटव्यम्, लिट्; विशः—वेटा, वेटुष्, वेटव्यम्, विट् ॥

एकाचो वशो भष् झपन्तस्य स्त्वोः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-अचः, वशः, भष्, झष-अन्तस्य, स्त्, ध्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोर्वययो य एकाच् झपन्तः तद्वयवस्य वशः स्थाने भष् आदेशो भवति झलि सकारे ध्वशब्दे च परतः पशन्ते च ॥

37. For the letters व, ग, ङ or द् in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, and which ends in झ, भ, घ, ङ or ध, there is substituted म, ष, ङ or ध respectively, before स or ध्व, or at the end of a pada (word).

Thus from बुध्—भोत्स्यन्ते, भमुष्यम् and भर्ष्यन्तु; from सुह्—नि पोक्ष्यते न्युष्यन्, पर्ण्युद् ॥ सुह् becomes सुह् by VIII. 2. 31, and thus it is a root ending in jhash.

From दुह्—(which becomes दुष् by VIII. 2. 32, and thus is a jhash ending root) धोक्ष्यते अदुग्धम्, गोधुक् ॥

So also from गृध् we have अजर्घाः the 2nd Person. Sing. Imperfect (लङ्) Intensive (yañ luk). There is guṇa of क, the स् (of सिप् 2nd Pers. Sing.) is elided (VI. 1. 68), and we have अजर्घर्, and for the letter ग of the monosyllabic root, घ is substituted by the present aphorism. अजर्घर् ॥ Then the final ध् is changed to द्, अजर्घर्द् (VIII. 2. 39). Then द् is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75, अजर्घर् ॥ Then the first र् is elided अजर्घर् (VIII. 3. 14). Then there is lengthening by VI. 3. 111, and we have अजर्घाः ॥

The monosyllable should be such that it should begin with a बश् and end with a झष् letter, and should be a full root or the portion (अवयव) of a root. In fact, this word which we found necessary in VIII. 2. 32, is absolutely necessary here, in order to explain forms like गर्घष् from the Denominative root गर्धभ्य, by विवष् ॥

Why do we say “a monosyllable beginning with बश् and ending with झष्?” Observe दामलिह् from the Denominative root दामलिह्य ॥ For had एकाचः not been employed in the sūtra, the word धातः (VIII. 2. 32) would have qualified बश्; and the sūtra would have meant “in a root which ended in a jhash, and which contained a बश् letter as its member; there is jhash substitution for such बश्”, and the ह् of दामलिह् would be changed then.

Why do we say “for a बश् letter”? Observe कुध्—क्रोस्यति here क is not changed to घ ॥ Why do we say ending in jhash? Observe वास्यति ॥ Why before स and ध्व? Observe बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम् ॥

Why have we taken ध्व and not merely ध? Observe वावद्भि from वध् in the बह् लुक्, Imperative 2nd Per. singular, the हि being changed to धि (VI. 4. 101). The substitutes are four भ, घ, ङ and ध, and their respective sthānins are also four, i. e. क, ग, ङ and द; so that ङ is the substitute of ङ; but, as a matter of fact, ङ never so stands at the beginning of a monosyllable, and so there is no ङ substitution.

दधस्तथोश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दधः, त, थोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दध इति दधातिः कृतद्विवचनो निर्विद्यते। तस्य झलन्तस्य बशः स्थाने भष् आवेशो भवति तकार-यकारयोः परतत्त्वात् स्थोश्च परतः ॥

38. For the द् of दध (the reduplicated form of धा) is substituted ध, before the affixes beginning with त, थ, स and before ध्वम् ॥

The word दध is taken in the sūtra as the reduplicated form of धा दधाति and not the root दध धारणे of Bhuādi class, as वाप् intervenes there. By the word च we draw in the words स and ध्व ॥ Thus धत्तः, धत्थः, धत्ते, धत्स्व, धध्वम् ॥ By the express injunction of this sūtra, the elided अ is not

considered as sthānivat. The last sūtra could not have applied to दृध for two reasons. 1st. It does not begin with a दृध letter, for the real reduplicate is धध, and दृ is merely a substitute, and is considered asiddha. 2ndly. The form दृध does not end in a jhash consonant, but in a vowel अ, and though this अ is elided before these affixes, yet the lopa would be sthānivat. Hence the necessity of च in this sūtra. See contra, the vārtika in Mahābhāṣya.

The word झलि is understood here, and so also झपन्तस्य; and there can be no affix, but begins with त or य, that can come after दृध ॥ Why do we employ then the words 'before त and य'? Had we not used these, the sūtra would have referred to त and ध्व only, as being in immediate proximity, and the च draws them in. According to Padamanjari the words तयोच could have been dispensed with: for before स् and ध्व, the ध change would have taken place by the last sūtra, whilst by this sūtra, the same change would have taken place before all other झल-beginning affixes, and such affixes that can come after दृध are त or य-beginning affixes.

The word jhash is understood here also, therefore the rule applies to दृध then only, when it assumes the form of दृध, by the elision of अ; and hence not here दधाति ॥

झलां जशान्ते ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलां, जशः, अन्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां जश आदेशा भवन्ति पदस्यान्ते वर्त्तमानानाम् ॥

39. A corresponding ज, ञ, ग, ड or दृ is substituted for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाग् भव, भलिङ् भव, अग्निचिद् भव, विदुर् भव ॥ The word भलिङ् is formed by changing the ह् of लिङ् to ड first, and then changing this ड to ञ, a jaś-letter.

The word अन्त 'at the end' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the anuvṛtti of झलि ceases. Thus वस्ता, वस्तुम्, वस्तव्यम् ॥

The exceptions to this have been given in VIII. 2. 30 &c, and VIII. 2. 66. At an avasāna or Pause, a चर consonant may be substituted for a झल by VIII. 4. 56.

झपस्तथोर्द्धो ऽधः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ झपः, त-थोः, धः, अधः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झप उत्तरयोस्तकारयकारयो स्याने धकार आदेशो भवति ॥

40. घ is substituted for त or थ coming after झ, भ, घ, ढ or थ (jhash), but not after the root धा (दध) ॥

Thus from लभ् we have लब्धा, लब्धुम्, लब्धव्यम्, अलब्ध, अलब्धाः ॥

The भ् of लभ् is changed to ब by VIII. 4. 53. From दुह्—दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम्, अदुग्ध, अदुग्धाः ॥ The ह् is changed to घ by VIII. 2. 32, and then it is changed to ग by VIII. 4. 53.

From लिङ्:—लेङ्, लेङ्गम्, लेङ्ग्यम्, अलीङ्, अलीङ्गः ॥ In लेङ् &c, the ह is changed to ङ by VIII. 2. 31, and घ changed to ङ by VIII. 4. 41, before which the preceding ङ is elided by VIII. 3. 13.

From बुध्:—बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम्, अबुद्ध, अबुद्धाः ॥ For the ध of बुध् there is substituted व by VIII. 4. 53.

Why do we say "but not after the root धा"? Observe धत्तः, धत्थः ॥

पढोः कः सि ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पढोः, कः, सि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारद्वययोः ककारदेशो भवति सकारे परतः ॥

41. क is substituted for ष or ढ before स ॥

Thus for ष of विष् we have विवेक्ष्यते, अविवेक्ष्यन्, विविक्षति ॥ For ढ of लिङ् (लिङ् VIII. 2. 31) we have लेक्ष्यति, अलेक्ष्यन्, लिलिखति ॥

For the स of the affix स्य &c, is substituted ष by VIII. 3. 59.

Why do we say "before स"? Observe पिनष्टि, लेडि ॥

रदाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः पूर्वस्य च दः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रदाभ्याम्, निष्ठातः, नः, पूर्वस्य, च, दः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफद्वयकारभ्यामुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति । पूर्वस्य चकारस्य ॥

42. After र and द, for the त of the Participial suffix त and तवन्, there is substituted न, and the same substitution takes place also for the preceding द ॥

After र:—आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विशीर्णम्, निगीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम् ॥

After द:—भिन्नः, भिन्नवान्, छिन्नः, छिन्नवान् from भिद् and छिद् ॥

Why do we say "after र and द"? Observe कृतः, कृतवान् ॥ The word र here does not denote the common *sound* र, which would include ऋ also, but the consonant र ॥ But even if र be taken a common sound-name including र and ऋ, yet the न change does not take place in कृत &c, because between त and the र-sound, there intervenes vowel-sound इ, for ऋ is sounded not like pure र, but र + a vowel sound.

Why do we say "of the Participial suffix"? Observe कर्त्ता, हर्त्ता ॥

Why do we say "for the त"? Observe चरितम्, हरितम् ॥ Here the त of the Nishthā does not follow *immediately* after र, the augment इद् intervenes.

Why do we say "of the preceding"? The succeeding द will not be changed. As भिन्नवद्भ्याम्, भिन्नवद्भिः ॥

In the word कर्त्तिः the descendant of कृतः the त of Nishthā is immediately preceded by र, but no change has taken place, because the Vṛddhi, by which कृ is changed to कार्, is Bahiranga and consequently asiddha, and for the purposes of न change, the र so obtained is invalid.

संयोगादेरातो धातोर्यण्वतः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग-आदेः, आतः, धातोः, यण्वतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादियौ धातुराकारान्तो यण्वान् तस्मादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

43. For the त of the Nishthâ there is substituted न, after a root ending in आ and commencing with a conjunct consonant, if the latter contain a semi-vowel.

Thus from द्रा we have मद्राणः, मद्राणवान् ॥ ग्लानः, ग्लानवान् from ग्ल ॥ These roots द्रा and ग्ल end in आ, have a conjunct consonant in the beginning, one of which is a semi-vowel र and ल ॥

Why do we say "beginning with a double-consonant"? Observe यातः, यातवान् ॥

Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe व्युतः, व्युतवान्; प्लुतः, प्लुतवान् ॥

Why do we say "after a root"? Observe निर्वातः, निर्वातः ॥ For the roots here द्या and वा do not begin with a conjunct consonant, and that which is a conjunct i.e. र्वा and र्वा is not a root, hence the rule does not apply.

Why do we say "having a यण् or semi-vowel"? Observe स्नातः, स्नातवान् ॥

ल्लादिभ्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृ-आदिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृम् छेदने इत्येतत्प्रभृति वृ वरणे इति यावत् वृत्करणेन समापिता ल्लादयो गृह्यन्ते । तेभ्य उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लृकारल्लादिभ्यः क्तिञ्छिष्टावङ्गवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ दुग्बोर्दीर्घेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूमां विनाशइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सिनोतेर्मासकर्मकर्तृकस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

44. The त of Nishthâ is changed to न, after the roots लृ and those that follow it.

These roots belong to Kryâdi class, and commence from लृम् छेदने (IX. 13) and end with वृ वरणे (IX. 32).

Thus लूनः, लूनवान्, धूनः, धूनवान्, जीनः, जीनवान् from ज्या the vocalisation is by VI. 1. 16.

Vart:—After a root ending in क् or क् and after a root of Luâdi class, the त of the affix क्तिन् is changed to न्, like as in Nishthâ. Thus कीर्तिः, गीर्तिः, क्षीर्तिः, लूनिः, पूनिः ॥ These are from कृ (IX. 26), शृ (IX. 28), शृ (IX. 18), लृ and पू ॥

Vart:—The vowel of the roots दु गतौ (Bhu. 991) and दु (Bhu. 997), are lengthened before the Nishthâ which is changed to न ॥ As आदूनः, विगूनः ॥

Vart:—The न change takes place after पूम् 'to destroy' (Bhu. 1015). As पूना यवाः = विनष्टाः ॥ But पूतं धान्यं from पूम् 'to purify' (IX. 12).

Vart:—The same change takes place after the root सि बन्धने of Svâdi class (2) when used in a Reflexive sense of becoming a morsel fit for swallowing. As सिनो घ्रासः स्वयमेव i.e. where a morsel by being mixed with curd, condiments &c, becomes rounded of itself, there this form is used. बन्धमानः पिण्डीक्रियमाणो घ्रासो, यदा दध्यादिव्यञ्जन वशेन तत्रातुकूल्यं प्रतिपद्यते तदाऽयम् प्रयोगः ॥ But

when not used in this sense, we have सिता पाप्तेन सूकरी ॥ Moreover, the घास must be the object and not the subject of the verb. Therefore not here: सितो घासो देवदत्तेन ॥

ओदितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओदितः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारेणो धातो रुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

45. The त of Nishṭhâ is changed to न, after a root, which has an indicatory ओ in the Dhâtupâṭha.

Thus ओलङ्गी—लग्नः, लग्नवान्, ओविङ्गी—उद्दिग्गः, उद्दिग्गवान् ॥ ओप्यायी वृद्धोः—आपीनः, आ पीनवान् ॥

The roots सूङ् प्राणिप्रसवे (Div. 24) &c. are considered as ओदित् ॥ Thus, सूनः, सूनवान्; पूङ्—पूनः, पूनवान्; रीङ्—रीनः, रीनवान्; डीङ्—डीनः, डीनवान्; धीङ्—धीनः, धीनवान्; मीङ्—मीनः, मीनवान्; रीङ्—रीणः, रीणवान्; लीङ्—लीनः, लीनवान्; व्रीङ्—व्रीणः, व्रीणवान् ॥

क्षियो दीर्घात् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियो धातोर्दीर्घादुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

46. The त of Nishṭhâ is changed to न, after क्षि, when the root-vowel is lengthened.

Thus क्षीणः क्लेशाः; क्षीणो जाल्मः; क्षीणस्तपस्वी ॥ The vowel of क्षि is lengthened by VI. 4. 60 and 61.

Why do we say 'when the vowel is lengthened'? Observe अक्षितमक्षि नामैकेष्टाः ॥ The word अक्षितं is formed with क्त in the sense of भाव and means 'imperishable'. The Nishṭhâ being added in the sense of प्यत्, there is no lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 60.

The root क्षि includes the two roots क्षि क्षये and क्षि निवासगत्यौः ॥ As क्षितः कामो मया ॥ See also the commentary of Sāyana on अक्षितो तिः सनेति वाजामन्त्रः सहस्रिणं ॥ (Rig I. 5. 9).

Obj:—The form क्षियः in the sūtra is the Genitive singular of the root-noun क्षी ending in long ई, and will denote the root क्षी ending in long ई according to the maxim प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवति "an imitative name (as क्षी here) is like its original (the root क्षी)". What is then the necessity of employing the word दीर्घात् in the sūtra? For had the root क्षि with short इ been meant, the form would have been क्षेः ॥

Ans.—The dhātu imitative noun though taking इयङ् (VI. 4. 77) as in क्षियः, includes the dhātu ending in short इ also, as in sūtra VI. 4. 59, 60 where क्षि ending in short इ is taken.

Q. If a root ending in short vowel may also be indicated by an imitative name, declined with इयङ् augment, then why is the root क्षि exhibited in sūtra I. 3. 19 as क्षेः instead of क्षियः i. e. the sūtra ought to have been वि पराम्नां जिवः and not वि पराम्नां क्षेः ?

Ans. Here the word जि is not used as a dhātu-imitative word, there is no intention here to denote the verbal idea of the particular act connoted by the root जि; on the contrary, it simply expresses the *mere form* जि ॥

इयो ऽस्पर्शो ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयः, अ-स्पर्शो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयात्तेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्यास्पर्शो नकार आदेशो भवति ॥

47. The Nishṭhâ त is changed to न after इये, but not when the Participle denotes 'cold'.

Thus शीनं घृतम्, शीनो मेघः, शीना वसा; but शीतं वर्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतमुदकम् ॥ The वृ of इया is vocalised to ई by VI. 1. 24.

The prohibition applies when the noun is an adjective and means 'cold'; and not when it means a disease. Therefore we have प्रतिशीनः with न change.

The word स्पर्श is a guna word formed by घञ्, and denotes the particular guna or sensation to be sensed through the organ of touch. In this sense it is derived from the root स्पृश संस्पर्शेन ॥ It also denotes a disease, derived from स्पृश उपतापे ॥ There is nothing to show, what स्पर्श is meant in the sūtra. Explanation is the only refuge here.

अञ्चो ऽनपादाने ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चः, अन्-अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चतेरुत्तरपदस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति न चेदपादानं तत्र भवति ॥

48. The Nishṭhâ त is changed to न, after अञ्च्, but not when it is in connection with an Ablative case.

Thus समकौ शङ्कुनेः पारौ = सङ्गतौ; तस्मात् पदयो न्यक्ताः ॥

Why do we say 'when not in construction with an Ablative case'? Observe उदक्तमुदकं कृपात् = उद्धृतं 'drawn out'.

The word व्यक्तम् is from the root अञ्च् व्यक्तिसंज्ञा कान्तिगतिषु, and not from the root अञ्च्; and hence the Nishṭhâ is not changed.

दिवो ऽविजिगीषायाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, अ-विजिगीषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव उच्चारस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति अविजिगीषायामर्थे ॥

49. The Nishṭhâ त is changed to न, after दिव्, when the sense is not that of 'play'.

The word विजिगीषा means "desire of conquest or gain", but here it means "gambling".

Thus आशूनः = औदरिकः, परिशूनः = क्षीणः ॥ Why do we say "when it does not mean to play"? Observe इदं वर्तते ॥ Here the throwing of dice is with the desire of winning or gaining victory (vijigīshā) over the opponent.

निर्वाणो ऽवाते ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्वाणः, अ-वाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वाण इति निस्पूर्वाद्वातेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते । न चेद्वाताधिकरणो वाक्यार्थो भवति ॥

50. The word निर्वाण is irregularly formed by changing the Nishṭhâ त to न, when the sense is not that of 'wind'.

The word निर्वाण is formed from the root वा, with the preposition निर् and the Participial affix त् ॥ Thus निर्वाणोऽग्निः, = उपशान्तः, निर्वाणः प्रदीपः, निर्वाणो भिक्षुः = उपरतः ॥

Why do we say when not meaning "the wind"? Observe निर्वातो वातः, निर्वातं वातेन ॥

In the sentences निर्वाणः प्रदीपो वातेन, निर्वाणोऽग्निर्वतिन, the न change has taken place, because the location of the verb वा is in the प्रदीप and अग्नि, and not in the वात, which is merely an Instrument. Hence the above vṛtti uses the words "if the sense of the verb वा does not govern वात in the locative case".

शुष्कः कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्कः, कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुषेर्जातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य ककारदेशो भवति ॥

51. क is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त after the root शुष् ॥

As शुष्कः, शुष्कवान् ॥

पचो वः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पचः वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पचेर्जातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य वकारदेशो भवति ॥

52. व is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त after the root पच् ॥

As पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥

क्षायो मः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षायः, मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेधातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य मकारदेशो भवति ॥

53. म is substituted for the Nishṭhâ त after the root क्षे ॥

Thus क्षामः, क्षामवान् ॥

प्रस्त्योन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्त्यः, अन्यत रस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वात् स्थायतेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्यान्यतरस्यां मकारदेशो भवति ॥

54. म is optionally substituted for the Nishṭhâ त, after the root स्था preceded by प्र ॥

Thus प्रस्तीमः or प्रस्तीतः, प्रस्तीमवान् or प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ In the second alternative when म does not come, we first vocalise the root स्था into स्ती, and then add त् ॥ Had Samprasâraṇa not taken place first, then the Nishṭhâ त would have been changed to न after स्था by VIII. 2. 43. But when samprasâraṇa is

once made, the root no longer has a semi-vowel and so there remains no occasion for the application of VIII. 2. 43. See VI. 1. 23 for vocalisation.

अनुपसर्गात्कुलक्षीबकशोलाघाः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, कुल-क्षीब-कश-उलाघाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुल क्षीब कश उलाघ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते न अनुपसर्गादुत्तरा भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्कुलसंकुलयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

55. The irregular Participles कुल, क्षीब, कश and उलाघ are formed then only, when no Preposition precedes them.

The word कुल is derived from the root अफला विचारणे the त is changed to ल ॥ The change of अ to इ (VII. 4. 88) and the want of इद् augment (VII. 2. 16) are regular. The same change takes place before क्तवत् also, as कुलवान् ॥

The affix लृ is elided after the roots क्षीब, कश् and उल्-लाप्, and the augment इद् is prohibited; this is the irregularity in क्षीब, कशः and उलाघः ॥

Why do we say when not preceded by a Preposition? Observe प्रकुलः सुमनसः, प्रक्षीबितः, प्रकृषितः, प्रोलापितः ॥ In the case of लाप्, prepositions other than उल् are prohibited.

Or the augment इद् is added, and then इद् is elided from क्षीबितः &c. See VIII. 2. 3 *vārt.*

Vārt.—The forms उत्कुलः and संकुलः should be enumerated. Here त is changed to ल, though the root has taken a Preposition.

In the word परिकृषः, the word परि is not a Preposition with regard to the verb कृष्; परिगतः कृषः = परिकृषः ॥ So that परि is upasarga of the verb गतः understood, hence we have the form कृषः ॥

नुदविदोन्द्वाघ्राहीभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुद, विद, उन्द्, वा, घ्रा, हीभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नुद विद उन्द् वा घ्रा ही इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य निघातकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Kārikā—वेत्तेस्तु विदितो निघा विद्यतेर्विन्न इष्यते ।

वित्तेर्विन्नश्च विराभ भोगे विन्नश्च विन्दते ॥

56. The Nishṭhā त may optionally be changed to न, after नुद, विद, उन्द्, वा, घ्रा, ही ॥

Thus नुनः or नुत्तः, विन्नः or वित्तः, समुनः or समुत्तः, वाणः or वातः, प्राणः or प्रातः, हीणः or हीतः ॥

With regard to ही, the न change was not ordained by any rule, and so it is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. With regards to others, the न change would have always taken place by VIII. 2. 42 and 43, this makes it optional.

The root विद विचारणे of Rudhādi is to be taken here, and not the other विद roots. Thus the following: *Kārikā*

The Nishṭhā of विद्—वेत्ति of Adādi class is विदितः ; (2) of विद्—विद्यते of Divādi class is विन्नः only ; (3) of विद् of Tudādi is विन्नः ; (4) of विद् of Rudhādi are both वित्तः and विन्नः ॥ The Tudādi विद् has also the form वित्तः in the sense of भोग by VIII. 2. 58.

न ध्याख्यापृमूर्च्छिमदाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ध्या, ख्या, पृ, मूर्च्छि, मदाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ध्या ख्या पृ मूर्च्छि मद इत्येतेषां निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो न भवति ॥

57. The Nishṭhā त्त is not changed to न after ध्या, ख्या, पृ, मूर्च्छि and मद ॥

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यातवान्, ख्यातः, ख्यातवान्, पृत्तः, पृत्तवान्, मूर्च्छः, मूर्च्छवान्, मत्तः, मत्तवान् ॥

This debars the न change prescribed by VIII. 2. 42, 43.

The root मूर्च्छि is exhibited in the sūtra in its lengthened form ; the root वृच्छि is lengthened by VIII. 2. 78, and the च्छ is elided before त्त by VI. 4. 21.

वित्तो भोगप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वित्तः, भोग, प्रत्यययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वित्त इति विदेशाभावाद्भुत्तरस्य क्तस्य नत्वाभावो निपात्यते भोगे प्रत्यये आभिधेये ॥

58. The irregularly formed Participle वित्त denotes 'possessions' and 'renowned'.

This is derived from विद्वद् लाभे of Tudādi class, the त्त is not changed to न though so required by VIII. 2. 42.

Thus वित्तमस्य बहु=धनमस्य बहु 'he has much riches'. Because riches are enjoyed (मुच्यते), so they are called भोग or 'enjoyments' *par excellence*.

In the sense of 'renowned', we have वित्तोऽयं मनुष्यः "this man is renowned or famous". Here वित्तः=प्रतीतिः ॥ प्रतीयते=प्रत्ययः ॥

Why do we say when having the sense of 'possessions' and 'famous'? Observe विन्नः ॥

भित्तं शकलम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भित्तम्, शकलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भित्तमिति निपात्यते शकलं चैतज्जवति ॥

59. The word भित्त is irregularly formed in the sense of 'a fragment, a portion'.

Thus भित्तं तिष्ठति, भित्तं प्रपतति ॥ This is synonymous with शकलम् ॥ The root-meaning of भिद् is not very manifest in this word, it may be taken as a रुद्धि word. The regular form is भिन्न under VIII. 2. 42.

ऋणमाधमर्ण्ये ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋणम्, आधमर्ण्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋणमिति ऋद्व्येतस्माद्धातोरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते आधमर्ण्यविषये ॥

60. The word ऋण is irregularly formed in the sense of 'debt.'

It is derived from ऋ, the त्त is changed to न ॥ The word अधमर्ण्य is compounded from अधम ऋणे "he who in a debt transaction holds a lower position"—

i.e. a debtor. This nipātana shows that such irregular Locative compounds may be formed; for here the first member is *not* in the Locative case, but the second member. The condition of being a debtor is आधमर्ण्यम् or "indebtedness:"

If this is so, then the word उत्तमर्णः 'creditor' cannot be formed? This is no valid objection. For अधमर्ण is illustrative only of something to be paid hereafter, in consideration of something formely received; and thus includes उत्तमर्ण also; which also has been so employed by the author himself in धारेरुत्तमर्णः (I. 4. 35).

The word ऋण we use in sentences like ऋणे ददाति, ऋणं धारयति ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'debt'? Observe ऋतं वक्ष्यामि, नानृतम् ॥

नसत्तनिषत्तानुत्तप्रतूर्त्तसूर्त्तगूर्त्तानि छन्दसि ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नसत्त, निषत्त, अनुत्त, प्रतूर्त्त, सूर्त्त, गूर्त्तानि, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नसत्त निषत्त अनुत्त प्रतूर्त्त सूर्त्त गूर्त्त इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

61. In the Chhandas we have the following irregular Participles:—nasatta, nishatta, anutta, pratûrtta, sûrtta, gûrtta.

The words नसत्त and निषत्त are derived from the root सद् preceded by न and नि, and there is not the न change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus नसत्तमञ्जसा ॥ In secular literature we have नसन्नम् ॥ So also निषत्तः in the Vedas, but निषण्णः in secular literature. The word अनुत्तः is from उन् with the negative अन् ॥ The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As अनुत्तमा ते मघवन् (= अनुत्तम्) ॥ प्रतूर्त्तम् is from स्पर् or तूर्त्त, as प्रतूर्त्तं वाजिनम् (= प्रतूर्त्तम्) ॥ When it is derived from स्पर् then ऊद् is added by VI. 4. 20; and when from तूर्त्त then VI. 4. 21 is applied. सूर्त्त is from सू, the ऋ is changed to उ irregularly, as सूत्तगावः=सूतागावः ॥ गूर्त्त is from गू, as गूर्त्ता अमृतस्य (= गूर्त्त) ॥

क्विप्प्रत्ययस्य कुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विन्, प्रत्ययस्य, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्यति वर्त्तते । क्विप्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्र पदान्ते कुत्वमिष्यते । क्विप्प्रत्ययो यस्माद्धातोः स क्विप्प्रत्ययः, तस्य पदस्यालौक्यस्य कवर्गादिशो भवति ॥

62. A stem formed with the affix क्विन् under III. 2. 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

The word पदस्य is understood here. The word क्विप्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrihi meaning 'that stem which has kvin as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As घृतस्पृक् (III. 2. 58), हलस्पृक्, मन्वस्पृक् ॥

The sūtra could have been क्विन्ः कुः; the word प्रत्यय is used in the sūtra to show the Bahuvrihi compound; so that the इ of क्विन् may not be changed to a guttural. Moreover this Bahuvrihi also indicates that the roots which take the क्विन् affix, change their final to a guttural before other affixes than क्विन् ॥

Thus the roots **सृज्** and **दृश्** take **क्विन्** to form **सृक्** and **दृक्** nouns by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: as, **मानो अस्माक् मानो अद्वाक्**, where **अस्माक्** and **अद्वाक्** are the Aorist of **सृज्** and **दृश्** ॥ The augment **अद्** is not elided, though the **मा** is added (VI. 4. 75) as a Vedic diversity. The **ईद्** augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment **अम्** is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 3. Thus **अद्+सृज्+सिञ्+तिप्=असृज्** (VI. 1. 58)=**अस्माक्** (VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62). Other wise it would have been **ष** by VIII. 2. 36. So also in **दृग्भ्यां, दृग्भिः**, the **श्** is changed to a guttural, though the noun **दृश्** is a **क्विप्** formed noun and not formed by **क्विन्**; and this is so, because the verb **दृश्** does take **क्विन्** also.

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be guttural change in **रज्जुसृज्भ्यां** from the root **सृज्** with **क्विप्**? Ans. The guttural change however is not desired here.

In gutturalisation, **ज** is changed to **ग**, and **श्** to **ख**, which both become **क** by **वावसाने** (VIII. 4. 56)

नशेर्वा ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशेः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्थेति वर्त्तते ॥ नशेः पदस्य वा कवर्गविशो भवति ॥

63. The final of **नश्** at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

The word **पदस्य** is understood here also. As **सा वै जीवनडाहुतिः** (Maitr. S. I. 4. 13): or **सा वै जीवनगाहुतिः ॥** According to Pro. Bohtlingk this latter form is not found in the Samhitā.

Here the root **नश्** has taken **क्विप्** in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to **संप्रदादि** class.

जीवस्य नाशः=जीवनक् or **जीवनद् ॥** The gutturalisation optionally debars the **ष** change of VIII. 2. 36. When the **ष** change takes place, this **ष** is changed to **द** by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

मोनो धातोः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, नः, धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य मकारादेशो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अनुनासिकस्य किङ्कलोः किङ्कित्तिरीधत्वम् ॥

64. **न** is substituted, at the end of a word, for the final **म** of a root.

As **प्रशान्, प्रतान्, प्रवान् ॥** These are formed by adding **क्विप्** to the roots **शाम्, ताम्** and **दाम् ॥** The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The **न** being considered as **asiddha** is not elided.

Why do we say "of **म**-ending roots"? Observe **मिन्, छिन् ॥**

Why do we say "of a root"? Observe **इन्म, किम् ॥**

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रतामौ, प्रतामः where म is not at the end of a word.

म्वोश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, वोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारवकारयोश्च परतः मकारान्तस्य धातोर्नकारदेशो भवति ॥

65. न is substituted for the म of a root before the affixes beginning with म and च ॥

As अगन्म, अगन्व the Imperfect of गम्, as in the sentence अगन्म तनसः पारम ॥ The णप् is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also अगन्वान् with क्वञ्, the augment इद् is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This sūtra applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sūtra.

ससञ्जयो रुः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, सञ्जयोः, रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य पदस्य सञ्जप् इत्यन्तस्य च रुर्भवति ॥

66. For the final स्र् and for the ष् of सञ्जप् is substituted रु, at the end of a word.

Thus अग्निरञ्, वायुरञ् ॥ So also सञ्जर्हयिभिः, सञ्जर्वेभिः ॥ सञ्जप् is derived from जप् with the affix कृप् and the preposition सह which is changed to स in Bahuvrīhi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means समीतिः ॥ The रु is र्, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary र् (or रु) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary र् ॥

अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाश्च ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयाः, श्वेतवाः, पुरोडाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाः इत्येते निपातन्ते ॥

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अवयाः, श्वेतवाः and पुरोडाः ॥

The word अवयाः is from अव + यञ् ; श्वेतवाः from श्वेत + वह् and पुरोडाः from पुरस् + दाश् ॥ The affix ण्विन् is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अवयाञ् is also formed by ण्विन् (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words श्वेतवाह्, पुरोडाश् and अवयाञ् are formed. These words take the affix इस् before the Pada-terminations (See Vārtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken इस्, the above forms अवयाः &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipātana, when रु would have come by the last sūtra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अवयस्, श्वेतवस् and पुरोडस्? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हे अवयाः, हे श्वेतवाः, हे पुरोडाः ॥

The word च shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हे उक्त्याः ॥

अहन् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्निव्येतस्य पक्ष्य रुर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहो रविधौ रूपरात्रिरयन्तरं पृथक्संख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

68. र is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निरायः, हे दीर्घाहोऽचेति ॥ See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र् in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārt:—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and यन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्रः, अहोरयन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this र् change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with र्; as अहो रम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

रोऽसुपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, अ-सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्निव्येतस्य रेफविशो भवत्यसुपि परतः ॥

69. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

Thus अहर्हवाति, अहर्धुक्ते ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ Here र्-called-र् replaced the final न् of अहन् ॥ The difference between this र्-called र् and the ordinary र is illustrated in the above set of examples. The र्-called र is changed to उ by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary र is not so changed.

Obj. In अहर्हवाति and अहर्धुक्ते the case-ending is elided after अहन्, and so by Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa, we may say that there is a case - ending here also ? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहो रविधौ लुपता लुप् प्रत्यय लक्षणं न भवति ॥ The rule of pratyaya lakṣhaṇa does not apply to the substitution of र् for the final of अहन् when the affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्. Therefore, this अहन् is not considered to be followed by सुप् or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa does apply to अहन् ॥ As हे दीर्घाहोऽच, हे दीर्घाहो निराय. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.

अन्नरूपरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नस्, ऊधस्, अवस्, इति उभयथा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नस् ऊधस् अवस् इत्येतेषां छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि भाषायां च विभाषा प्रचेतसो राजन्युपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ अहरादीनां पत्यादिभूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

70. In the Chhandas, both रु and र are substituted for the final of amnas, ūdhas, and avas.

Thus अन्न एव or अन्नरेव, ऊध एव or ऊधरेव; अव एव or अवरेव ॥ When रु is substituted for the finals, this रु is replaced by र् by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word अन्नस् means 'a little', and अवस् 'protection'.

Vārt :—रु and र both replace the final of प्रचेतस् before राजन्, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रचेता राजन् (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) प्रचेतो राजन् ॥

Vārt :—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by रु or र before पति &c. As. अहर्पतिः or अहर् पतिः or अहः पतिः; अहर्पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, गीर्पतिः, गीः पति, गी × पतिः; भूर्पति, भूः पतिः, भू × पतिः ॥ Here र् is substituted for the final र् of अहर् &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र् ॥

भुवश्च महाव्याहृतेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, चः, महाव्याहृतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुवस् इत्येतस्य महाव्याहृते छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

71. In the Chhandas, रु and र may replace the final of the word भुवस् when used as a mahâ-vyâhṛiti.

Thus भुवरित्यन्तरिक्षम् or भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम् ॥ The mahâ-vyâhṛitis are three, used generally before the famous Gâyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भुवस् is an Indeclinable and a Vyâhṛiti denoting the firmament. The other two are भूः and स्वः ॥

Why do we say when it is a mahâ-vyâhṛiti? Observe भुवो विश्वेषु भुवनेषु यज्ञियः ॥ Here भुवः is a verb, 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect (लङ्) of the root भू, without guṇa of the root, and the अद् augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

वसुस्रंसुध्वंस्वनडुहां दः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, स्रंसु, ध्वंसु, अनडुहाम्, दः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सस्रुषोरिव्यतः स इति वर्त्तते । वस्वन्तस्य पदस्य सकारान्तस्य स्रंसु ध्वंसु अनडुह इत्येतेषां च दकारोदेशो भवति ॥

72. द is substituted for the final स् of a word ending in the affix वस्, and for the final of स्रंसु, ध्वंसु and अनडुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛitti of स् is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies वस् only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix वस् ends with स्, such स् is replaced by द ॥ For a word formed by वस् does not

sometimes end in स्, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As स्तस् and ध्वस् *always* end in स्, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66. अनङ्गुह ends in ह् and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विहृद्भ्याम्, विहृद्भिः, पपिवद्भ्याम्, पपिवद्भिः with वस् affix. स्तस्—उत्थासद्भ्याम्, उत्थासद्भिः ॥ (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). ध्वस्—पणध्वद्भ्याम्, पणध्वद्भिः ॥ अनङ्गुह—अनङ्गुद्भ्याम्, अनङ्गुद्भिः ॥

But when a वस् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विह्वान्, पपिवान् ॥ Here न् is not changed to ह् ॥

In the case of वस्, the ह् is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself; thus in विहृद्भ्यां this ह् debars रु; so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in विह्वान् also? This rule sets aside रु, but it does not, however, over-rule the elision-rule, because it is not directly connected with this change.

Why in अनङ्गान् the न् is not changed to ह्? By the very fact, that नुम् is ordained (विधान-सामर्थ्यात्), this न् will not be changed to ह्: otherwise नुम् rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let ह् be changed to ह्, and we should get the form अनङ्गाद् by this rule without नुम् ॥

Obj:—If this be so, that the नुम् is not changed to ह्, because of giving it a scope, then in अनङ्गान् अब्, this नुम् should not be changed into रु by VIII. 3. 9?

Ans:—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (यं विधिं प्रति उपदेशोऽनर्थकः, सविधिर्वाध्यते, यस्य तु विधिर्निमित्तमेव नास्ती वाध्यते) ॥ With regard to ह् change, the नुम् vidhi is *useless* (anarthaka), with regard to रु change, it is merely an occasion.

The word पदस्य is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विह्वसौ and विह्वंसः ॥

तिप्यनस्तेः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिपि, अन्-अस्तेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य अनस्तेर्वाकार आदेशो भवति ॥

73. ह् is substituted for the final स् of a root, with the exception of अस्, before the Personal ending ति (त्), when it stands at the end of a word.

The स् of a root can stand at the end of a word when the Personal ending is dropped. Thus अचकाद् भवान्, अन्वशाद् भवान्, from the roots चकास् and शास् ॥ The Personal affix is elided by VI. 1. 68, and thereby स् comes to stand at the end of a Pada.

Why do we say 'before तिप्'? Observe चकास् formed by चिप् affix added to the root.

Why do we say 'with the exception of अस्'? See आप एवेदं सलिलं सवर्गं आः ॥ Here आः is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of अस् ॥ The ईद् is not added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिपि धातो रुर्वा ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिपि, धातोः, रुः, वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य धातो रुः इत्ययमादेशो भवति द्वायो वा ॥

74. दू or रु may optionally be substituted for the स् of a root, before the Personal ending सि (स्), when such स् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अश्वास् त्वम् or अश्वात् त्वम्, अन्वशास् त्वम् or अन्वशात् त्वम् ॥ For the रु is first substituted visarjanīya, which is then changed to स् ॥

The word धातुः is employed in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtras: so also the word रु ॥

दश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वाकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य सिपि परतो रुर्भवति द्वायो वा ॥

75. दू or रु may optionally be substituted for the final द् of a root, before the Personal-affix सि, when such द् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अभिनत् त्वम् or अभिनस् त्वम्, अच्छिनत् त्वम् or अच्छिनस् त्वम् ॥

वोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वीः, उपधायाः, दीर्घः, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य उपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. A penultimate दू or उ is lengthened, when the final र् or व् of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus गीः, धूः, पूः, आशीः ॥ These are all examples of roots ending in र् ॥ Of roots ending in व्, examples will be given in the next sūtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe अबिभर् भवान्, here the इ of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of इक् vowels'? So that the अ of भ in the above example अबिभर् may not be lengthened.

The word धातोः 'of a root' is understood here also. Therefore इ and उ are not lengthened in अग्निः, वायुः ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also, therefore, not here, गिरौ, गिरः ॥

हलि च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि च परतः रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

77. Of a root ending in र् or व्, the penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

Thus आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विशीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम्, all ending in र् ॥ So also, शीघ्रीत, शीघ्रति ending in व् ॥

The phrase "of the *root*", is understood here also. Therefore not here, दिव्यति and चतुर्यति, which are derived from the *nouns* दिव and चतुर i. e. दिव-निच्छति = दिव्यति; and चतुर इच्छति = चतुर्यति ॥

The phrase इकः "of the vowels इ or उ" is understood here also. Therefore not here, स्मर्यते, भव्यम् ॥

This rule applies to cases which are not final in a pada : but to cases where र् or ॠ are in the middle of a pada or word.

उपधायां च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरुपधाभूतौ यौ रेफवकारौ हल्परौ तयोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

78. The short इ or उ of a root is lengthened, when the verb has र् or ॠ as its penultimate letter, and is followed by a consonant.

The anuvṛtti of हलि is current. The root must end in a consonant, and must have a र् or ॠ as preceding such consonant, for the application of this rule. Thus हूर्छा, हूर्छिता, मूर्छा, मूर्छिता. तूर्ध्वी, तूर्ध्विता. धूर्ध्वी, धूर्ध्विता ॥

The र् or ॠ must be followed by a consonant. Therefore not here: as, चिरि, जिरि are roots having a penultimate र्, which however is followed by a vowel. Therefore we have चिरिणोति, जिरिणोति ॥

Q.—Why there is not lengthening in रिर्यतुः, रिर्युः or विव्यतुः, विव्युः Perfect, forms derived from the roots रि गतौ and वी गतौ &c? Here the इ of the abhyāsa required lengthening, and it would not be shortened, as it is asiddha.

Ans.—The यण substitute of इ here by VI. 4. 82, is treated as sthānivat, to इ, and therefore, the र् or ॠ is considered as *not* to be followed by a consonant, and hence there is no lengthening. Another reason is, that the यण substitute is taught in angādhikāra (VI. 4. 82), and depends upon the affix, and is consequently Bahiranga, with regard to this rule of lengthening which is antaranga. Hence यणादेशः is considered as asiddha. Therefore र् and ॠ are not followed by a consonant (for ॠ is not considered as such for the above reasons).

Similarly in चतुर्थितु formed with तच् affix from the Denominative (क्यच्) root चतुर्थ ॥ Here इद् is added before तच् as चतुर्थ + इ + तच् and then अ is elided, चतुर्थ + इ + तच् ॥ Here the elision of अ is a Bahiranga process, and therefore, र् is not here really penultimate, and so there is no lengthening of the vowel.

In प्रतिदीप्ता (Instrumental singular) there is lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. To the root प्रति-दिप् is added कनिच् by Uṇ I. 156, and we have प्रतिदिवन् ॥ To this is added दा (Instrumental affix), as प्रतिदिवन् + आ, and अ is elided by VI. 4. 34, and we get प्रतिदीप्ता ॥ The lengthening takes place here, the elision of अ is not considered here as sthānivat, and so ॠ becomes penultimate. In fact,

here we apply the maxim that a lopa substitute of a vowel is not to be considered as sthānivat when a rule of lengthening is to be applied (See I. 1. 58).

Q.—Well, let it not be sthānivat, but the elision by VI. 4. 134, depends upon a case-affix, and is Bahiranga, and therefore asiddha for the purposes of this rule which is antaranga: and so therefore, there would be no lengthening?

Ans.—The maxim of असिद्ध बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्ग should not be applied here: because it is an *anitya* rule.

The word जितिः is formed by the Uṇādi affix क्तिन् added to the root ज् (जिर्), the र् being changed to व (Uṇ V. 49). So also कितिः and गितिः are formed by the Uṇādi affix कि added to कृ and गृ (Uṇ IV. 143). The Genitive Dual of which is कियोः and गियोः ॥ There is no lengthening in जितिः, कियोः and गियोः, on the maxim that the Uṇādi formed words are primitive words and not Derivative; and so the rules of etymological changes do not apply to them (उणादयोऽप्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि) ॥

न भकुर्धुराम् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भ, कुर, धुराम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य भस्य कुर धुर इत्येतयोश्च दीर्घो न भवति ॥

79. The lengthening of vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77, when the Nominal stem ending in र् or व् is called Bha (i. e. when a य follows), and also not in कुर and धुर ॥

Thus धुर्यः (धुरं वहति IV. 4. 77 or धुरि साधुः) ॥ Similarly कुर्यात्, धुर्यात् ॥ The latter is Benedictive of धुर छेदने ॥

Why have we qualified the word भ by saying that it must end in र् or व्? Observe प्रातिपदिका, प्रातिपदिके ॥ For here the stem which ends in र् is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in र् but in न् ॥

अदसो ऽसेर्दादु दो मः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदस्, अ-सेः, दात्, उ, दः, मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदसो ऽसकारान्तस्य वर्णस्य दात्परस्य उवर्णादेशो भवति दकारस्य च मकारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अदसो ऽसोऽस इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā:—अदसोऽस्त्रे पृथङ् मुरे के चिदिच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ।

के चिदन्यसदेशस्य नेत्येके ऽसेर्हि दृश्यते ॥

80. When the pronoun अदस् does not end in स्, then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म for द् ॥

Thus अमुम्, अमू, अमून्, अमुना, अमूभ्याम्, ॥ अद् is substituted for अदस् before a case-ending by VII. 2. 102, which in Feminine becomes अदा ॥ By the

present sūtra read with I. 1. 50, अद् is substituted for अद् and अद् for अद् ॥ The ३ which replaces one-mātrā vowel will be one-mātrā ३ i. e. short ३, and the ३ which replaces a two-mātrā vowel will be a two-mātrā ३ i. e. long ३ ॥ See I. 1. 50.

Why do we say, "not ending in स्"? Observe अद् इच्छति = अदस्याति ॥ Obj. How can this be a valid example, as the word पदस्य is understood here, and अदस् before the affix क्य is not a pada (I. 4. 15)? Ans. This indicates that the वु change takes place, even when अदस् is not a pada. As अद्भुय ॥

Vart.—It should rather be stated that the rule applies to that अदस् which has no ओ, or स् or इ ॥ So that the prohibition may apply to अदोऽव, अदः कुलम् ॥ The visarjaniya being considered as asiddha, this word is considered as ending in इ ॥

In order to apply the prohibition to ओ and इ also, some explain the sūtra thus :—अः सेर्यस्य सोयमासि, यच्च सकारस्य अकारः क्रियते ॥ "The word असिः in the sūtra is a Bahuvrīhi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स्" ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अद् derived by changing the स् into अ by VII 2. 102: and not to any other अद् ॥

When अदस् takes the final-substitute अद् by VI. 3. 92, how is this rule to be applied? Thus by III. 2. 59, the root अ ष् takes क्तिन् ॥ We compound it with अदस्, as अदाऽज्जाति ॥ अदस् + अज् + क्तिन् = अद् + अद् + अज् + क्तिन् (VI. 3. 92) = अदद्भयच् (VI. 4. 24). Now there are three views, (1) the व् of अद्, and द् of अद्भि are both changed to वु by the present sūtra; (2), the first व् is not changed, but only द्; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अद्भुयच् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अद्भुयच्चौ, अद्भुयच्चः ॥ (2) Secondly, अद्भुयच् अदद्भुयच्चौ, अद्भुयच्चः ॥ (3) Lastly अदद्भयच्, अदद्भयच्चौ, अदद्भयच्चः ॥ The above verse summarises this:

"Some ordain that वु should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ल (in अलीकल्प्यते); others would have वु only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for द्); while a third class would have nowhere, because they explain असेः of the sūtra, by confining it to: VII. 2. 102." The first class interpret असेः by "that form of अदस् which has no स्"; and they do not apply the maxim अनन्यविकारेऽन्यसदृशस्य कार्यं भवति "when a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final." The second class apply this maxim and make वु change only for द् which stands in proximity to the final; while the last class interpret the word असेः in a different way altogether (अः अस्य सकारस्य सोऽयम् असिः) ॥

Why do we say रात् ' for the vowel after द ' ? Observe अद्भुय, अद्भुयोः, the final व् as not changed to ३ ॥

एत ईद्वहुवचने ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः ईत्, बहुवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदसो एकारादुत्तरस्य एकारस्य ईकारदेशो भवति एकारस्य च मकारः बहुवचने बहूनामर्थाना-
मुक्तौ ॥

81. For the ए coming after the द् of अदस्, there is substituted ई, and द् is changed to म्, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus अमी for अदे (or अते) अमीभिः for अदेभिः, अमीभ्यः for अदेभ्यः, अमीषाम् for अदेषाम्, अमीषु for अदेषु ॥ द् is changed to त्त in अते &c.

The word बहुवचने in the sūtra does not mean the technical बहुवचन ; for that would have made the sūtra have this sense "when the affixes of the Plural number follow". In that case, we could not get the form अमी where no plural affix follows. Hence we have translated it, by saying when plurality is to be denoted.

वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्यस्य, टेः, प्लुतः, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यस्य टेरिति प्लुत इति च उदात्त इति च एतन्नयमन्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापादपरिमिते, वेदित-
ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्त इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

82. Upto the close of this chapter (Pāda), is always to be supplied : "the last vowel of a sentence is pluta and has the acute".

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the three words i. e. "the last vowel (टि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (टि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent. Thus VIII. 2. 83, says "In answer to a salutation, but not when it is addressed to a Śūdra". We must supply the present aphorism to complete the meaning :—"In answer to a salutation, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent, but not when it is addressed to a Śūdra". As आभिवाद्ये देवदत्तोऽङ्ग । ओ आयुष्मानेधि देवदत्तौ ३ ॥

One adhikāra sets aside another adhikāra, this is the general maxim. Will therefore the adhikāra of the present aphorism set aside the adhikāra of the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16)? No, the adhikāra of पदस्य has not ceased, though latent. Otherwise in भवन्तौ &c. the न् would be required to be changed to ह् by VIII. 3. 7. But it does not become so, because पदस्य manifests itself there.

The employment of the word "vākya" would not debar the anuvṛitti of पद, for the final vowel of a sentence, will *a fortiori* be the final vowel of a word (pada), then what is the use of employing the word वाक्यस्य in this sūtra?

The word वाक्य is employed in the sūtra, so that a word which is not the last word of a sentence, will not get the pluta and acute. Had the sūtra been पदस्य देः &c. then *all* the words of a sentence would become pluta and acute in the final.

The word हि is employed to indicate that the final *vowel* becomes pluta and acute, though the word may end in a consonant. As अग्निर्हि३त् ॥ Had हि not been used, the rule would have applied to words ending in vowels only, and not to words ending in consonants.

प्रत्यभिवादे ऽशुते ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे, अ-शुते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे नाम यवज्जाम्बिवाद्यमानो गुरुशिष्यं प्रयुङ्क्ते । तत्राशुद्रविषये यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य देः प्लुतं ज्ञात्वा भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्त्रियामपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ असूयकेऽपि केचित् प्रतिषेधमिच्छन्ति ॥

टिप्पणिः ॥ अभिवाद्यवाक्ये यत् संकीर्तितं नाम गोषं वा तद् यत्र प्रत्यभिवाद वाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तत्र प्लुतं दृश्यते ॥ वा० ॥ भोजजन्यं विद्वां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

83. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation". The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udātta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śūdra.

Thus अभिवाद्ये देवदत्तोऽहं is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्ता ३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived".

Why do we say when not referring to a Śūdra? Observe अभिवाद्ये तुषज-कोऽहं is said by a Śūdra. In reply to this the Guru replies भो आयुष्मान् एधि तुषजक!

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवाद्ये गार्ग्यहं is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies :—भो आयुष्मती भवगार्गि ! ॥

Vārt:—Some would have this prohibition where a detractor or an arrogant person is addressed. So long as one's arrogance or ridicule does not become manifest, there is prolation. But when one comes to know that he is my detractor, and is really ridiculing me by a show of respect; then the reply is not a blessing, but is, in fact, a curse. Thus अभिवाद्ये स्थाल्यहं भोः, is uttered by the detractor; and the Guru understanding the word Sthālin to be the Proper Name of the person, replies आयुष्मान् एधि स्थालिन् ३ ॥ Then the

detractor says, Sthālin is not my Proper Name, but an adjective, like daṇḍin, viz. he who has a स्थाल or cooking pot. The Guru, believing this to be true, again replies, आयुष्मान् एधि स्थालिन् but without prolation, because the word is not a Proper Noun. The other then says "O Sir, it is not my epithet, it is my Proper Name". The Guru now comes to learn that he is being laughed at, and so gets angry and says : असूयकस्त्वं जाल्म ! न त्वं प्रत्यभिवादनमर्हसि ; भिद्यस्व वृषल स्थालिन् ! ॥ Here it is a curse, as well as a pun : i. e. "burst thou, O sinner ! like unto a cooking pot (sthālin=sthali-vat).

Ishti :—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence ; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त कुशल्यसि ; देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vart :—The prolation is optional, when भोः follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवाक्ष्य देवदत्तोऽहं ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवाक्ष्य इन्द्रवर्म्मार्हं भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मन् ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मन् ॥ Vaishya : अभिवाक्ष्य इन्द्रपालितोऽहं भोः ॥ Guru : आयुष्मानोधि इन्द्रपालित ३ or आयुष्मानोधि इन्द्रपालित ! ॥

दूराद्धूते च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूरात्, हूते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूराद्धूते यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य देः प्लुता भवति स चोदात्तः ॥

इष्टिः ॥ वाक्यस्यान्ते यत्र सम्बोधनपदं भवति, तत्र अयं प्लुत इष्यते ॥

84. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word दूरात् is in the Fifth case by II. 3. 35; the word हूतं means 'calling', 'addressing'. Thus आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता ३ ॥ आगच्छ भो माणवक यज्ञदत्ता ३ ॥ The word 'distance' is a relative term, and is not fixed at what distance there should be prolation. The prolation however takes place, when a voice is to be raised, in order that the sound may reach the person. That distance upto which the voice can be heard without raising its pitch and without any special effort, need not be considered as "distance" for the purposes of this sūtra.

The word हूत here includes, 'addressing in general', and 'not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here also सक्तून् पिब देवदत्ता ३, पलायस्व देवदत्ता ३ ॥ This pluta sentence becomes eka-śruti by I. 2. 33.

Why do we say "from a distance"? Observe आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त !

Ishti :—This prolation takes place only then, when the noun in the vocative case stands at the end of the sentence. Therefore, there is no prolation here: देवदत्त आगच्छ ॥

हैहेप्रयोगे हैहयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ है, हे, प्रयोगे, है, हयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेहोययोगे वृणुते यद्वाक्यं वर्तते तत्र हेहोयोरेव प्लुतो भवति ॥

85. When the words **हे** and **हे** are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the **हे** and **हे** alone get the pluta and the accent.

As **हे ३ देवदत्त, देवदत्त हे ३ ॥ हे ३ देवदत्त, देवदत्त हे ३ ॥**

The repetition of the words **हे** and **हे** in the sūtra, is for the sake of indicating, that the prolation takes place even when **हे** and **हे** do not stand at the end of a sentence.

गुरोरनृतोनन्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, अन्-ऋतः, अनन्यस्य, अपि, एक, एकस्य, प्राचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारवर्जितस्य गुरोरनन्यस्यापिशब्दादन्यस्यापि देरेकैकस्य सम्बोधने वर्तमानस्य प्लुतो भवति प्राचामाचार्याणां मतम् ॥

86. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of **ऋ**) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (VIII. 2.83-84), in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānin for the pluta vowel taught by VIII. 2. 83 to 84. With the exception of **ऋ**, for every heavy vowel, though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus **हे ३ देवदत्त** or **देवदत्त ३ हे** or **देवदत्त ३ ॥** Similarly with **यद् ३ देवदत्त, यद् ३ देवदत्त ३ ॥**

Why do we say **गुरोः**: "of a prosodially long vowel"? So that the **अ** of **व** and **ज्ञ** in Devadatta and Yajñadatta may not be prolated, for this **अ** is short.

Why do we say **अनृतः**: "with the exception of **ऋ**"? Observe **कृष्णमि ३ व, कृष्णमि ३ व ३**, but never **कृष्णमि ३ ॥**

The word **एकैकस्य** shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time; not **देवदत्त ३ ३ ॥**

The word **प्राचाम्** "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation *at all*.

As **आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त ॥** Thus the present sūtra, makes VIII. 2. 83 and 84, optional sūtras. This also is an authority for the following dictum of Patanjali "सर्व एव प्लुतः साहस्रमनिच्छता विभाषा कर्त्तव्यः" (Mahabhāṣya VIII. 2. 92. Commentary). Thus *all* rules relating to Prolation become optional. In short, the word **प्राचाम्** should be read in all rules regarding prolation, and thus without doing violence (sāhasa) to grammatical authority, one may have optional pluta everywhere.

ओम्भ्यादाने ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम्, अभ्यादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यादानं प्रारम्भः तत्र य ओम्शब्दः तस्य प्लुतो भवति ॥

87. The vowel in ओम् is pluta in the beginning of a sacred text.

The word अभ्यादानं means the commencement of a sacred mantra or Vedic text. Thus ओम् अग्निमीले पुंरहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजं ॥ (Rig I. 1. 1).

Why do we say "in the beginning"? Observe ओमिन्येतद्वक्त्रमुदीयमुपासीत (Chhândogya Upanishad. I. 1. 1). Here ओम् is not used to indicate the commencement of a Text or Mantra, but is itself the subject of comment.

ये यज्ञकर्मणि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, यज्ञ, कर्मणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ये इत्येतस्य यज्ञकर्माणं प्लुतो भवति ॥

इष्टिः ॥ ये यजामह इत्यत्रैवायं प्लुत इत्येत ॥

88. The vowel of ये becomes pluta in a sacred text, when it is employed in a sacrificial work.

Thus ये यजामहे ॥ Why do we say when employed in sacrificial work? Observe ये यजामह इति पञ्चाक्षरम् "Ye yajamahe consists of five syllables". Here it is simple recitation.

Ishî:—The word ये is pluta before यजामहे only. Therefore not so here: ये देवांसो विष्टेकादशस्य (Rig. I. 139. 11).

प्रणवष्टेः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणवः, षेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि षेः प्रणव आदेशो भवति ॥

89. In a sacrificial work, ओम् is substituted for the final vowel, with the consonant, if any, that may follow it, of a sentence.

The word यज्ञकर्मणि is understood here also. The word प्रणव means ओम् ॥ It is the name given to this syllable. This ओम् is substituted for the final letter (टि) of that word which stands either at the end of a Pāda of a sacred hymns or at the end of a hemistich of such Rik. Thus for अपां रतांसि जिवन्ति (Rig. VIII. 44. 16), we may have अपां रतांसि जिवन्तोऽम् ॥ So also for देवाम् जिगति सुमयुः (Rig. III. 27. 1), we may have देवाञ् जिगति सुमयोऽम् ॥

The word टि is repeated in this aphorism in spite of its anuvṛitti from VIII. 2. 82, to indicate that ओम् replaces the *whole* last syllable, with its vowel and consonant. Had टि not been repeated, then by the rule of अलोऽन्यस्य the final *letter* only of the टि portion of a sentence would have been replaced. Thus in सुमयुः, the visarjaniya alone would have been replaced.

When not employed in connection with sacrificial works, there is no such substitution. Thus in simple reading of the Vedas, we should always recite अपां रतांसि जिवन्ति ॥

याज्यान्तः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ याज्या, अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याज्या नाम ये याज्याः क्राण्डे पश्यन्ते मन्वास्तेषामर्थो यदि स ध्रुवते यज्ञकर्मणि ॥

90. The last vowel at the end of Mantras called Yājya, when employed in sacrificial works, is pluta and has the Acute.

Thus स्तोमैर्दिधेमाग्रये (Rig. VIII. 43. 11), जिह्वामग्रे चकृषे हव्यवाहाश्म (Rig. X. 8. 6).

Why do we say 'at the end'? There are some Yājya hymns, consisting of several sentences. The final vowel (दि) of every sentence would have become pluta, in such a hymn. To prevent it, the word "anta" is used, so that the final vowel of the hymn at the end of all, becomes pluta.

ब्रूहिप्रेष्यश्रौषद्बौषडावहानामादेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, श्रौषद्, औषद्, आवहानाम्, आदेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रूहि प्रेष्य श्रौषद् बौषद् आवह इत्येतेषामादेः प्लुतो भवति यज्ञकर्मणि ॥

91. In a sacrificial work, the first syllable of ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, श्रौषद्, बौषद् and आवह is pluta.

Thus अग्रयेऽनुर्वृष्टि (Maitr S. I. 4. 11), अग्रये गोमयानि (or 'न्') प्रेष्य, अस्तु श्रौषद्; सोमस्याग्रे वीहीश् बौषद्, अग्निर्माँश्वह ॥

So also in विद्यायामनुस्वश्वा on the analogy of ब्रूहि, so also अस्तुस्वश्वा ॥ The word बौषद् is illustrative of the six forms वषद्, बौषद्, वाषद्, बौक्षद्, वाक्षद्, वक्षद् ॥

But there is no prolation in आवह देवान् यजमानाय ; आवह जात वेदः ॥

अग्नीष्टप्रेषणे परस्य च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नीष्ट, प्रेषणे, परस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नीष्टः प्रेषणमग्नीष्टेषणम् तत्रादेः प्लुतो भवति परस्य च ॥

92. In an order given to Āgnīdhra priest, the first syllable as well as the succeeding syllable is pluta.

In a Yajña, the principal priests (ṛtvij) are four Adhvaryu, Udgātā, Hotā, Brahmā. Every one of these has three subordinate priests (ṛtvij) under them ; as shown below.

NAMES OF PRINCIPAL.

SUBORDINATE.

I.	½.	⅓.	¼.
Adhvaryu : (Yajur)	Pratiprasthātā	Nesthā (VI.4.11)	Unnetā.
Udgātā (Sāman)	Prastotā	Pratihartā	Subrahmanya.
Hotā (Rig) VI. 4. 11.	Maitrā varuṇa	Achchhāvāk	Potā (VI.4.11).
Brahmā (Atharvan)	Brāhmanāchhañśī	Āgnīdhra	Grāvastuta.

The duty of Āgnidhra is to kindle the sacrificial fire. In a summons or call (प्रेषण) made by the Adhvaryu, who is the Director of ceremonies, to the Āgnidhra to perform the functions of Āgnidh, both syllable become pluta.

The word अग्नीत् प्रेषण is a compound = अग्नीधः प्रेषणम् "a call or summon relating to Agnidhduty."

Thus आ ३ आ ३ वय, ओ ३ ओ ३ वय ॥ The pluta takes place only in these examples; therefore, not here, as अग्नीदग्नीन् विहर; बर्हि स्तृणीहि ॥ Some, therefore, read the aunaṣṭiti of the word विभाषा from the next sūtra, into this, and would have it an optional rule, of fixed jurisdiction (viyavasthita vibhāṣā). Others say "all pluta rules are optional" (सर्व एव प्लुतः साहसमानिच्छता विभाषा विज्ञेयः) ॥ In उद्धर ३ उद्धर, अभिहर ३ अभिहर, there is Vedic diversity.

The words 'relating to sacrificial work' (यज्ञकर्मणि) are understood here also. Therefore not in आ आवय ॥

विभाषा पृष्टप्रतिवचने हेः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचने, हेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा हेः प्लुतो भवति ॥

93. हि at the end of an answer to a question may optionally be pluta.

Thus Q. अकार्षीः कदं देवदत्त? Ans. अकार्षीं क्षी ३ or अकार्षीं हि ॥ Q. अलावीः केदारं देवदत्त? Ans. अलाविषं क्षी ३ or हि ॥

Why do we say "in answer to a question"? Observe कदं करिष्यति हि ॥

Why do we say हेः "of हि"? Observe कतोमि ननु ॥

निगृह्यानुयोगे च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि गृह्य, अनु योगे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमताद्यध्यायनं निग्रहः ॥ अनुयोगस्तस्य मतस्याविष्करणम् ॥ तत्र निगृह्यानुयोगे यद्वाक्यं वर्त्तते तस्य हेः प्लुतो भवति विभाषा ॥

94. The end syllable of that sentence is optionally pluta, when it asserts something which has been refuted, and is employed by the victor by way of censure.

The word निग्रहः means the refutation of another's opinion. निगृह्य is a gerund, and means 'having refuted'. अनुयोगः is the expression of the same proposition which has been refuted. When a person has demonstrated the untenableness of another's assertion, and then employs the said assertion by way of taunt, reproach or reprimand, then the final syllable of such a sentence becomes pluta. The sūtra literally means "Having refuted (it) when asserting (the same by way of censure)."

Thus an opponent asserts that "The word is not eternal." (अनित्यः शब्दः). Proving by arguments the untenableness of this position, and after refuting it, the victor says by way of reprimand:—अनित्यः शब्द इत्यात्थ्यो ३ or अनित्यः शब्द इत्यात्थ ॥ 'This is then your assertion—that the word is not eternal'. Similarly अथ आ-ज्जमित्यात्थ्यो ३ or अथ आज्जमित्यात्थ ॥ अद्यामावात्येत्यात्थ्यो ३ or अद्यामावात्येत्यात्थ ॥

In some texts of Kāsikā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

आभ्रेडितं भर्त्सने ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आभ्रेडितम्, भर्त्सने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्येति भर्त्सने द्विवचनमुक्तं तस्याभ्रेडितं भवते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भर्त्सने पर्यायेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

95. The end syllable of an *āmredita* Vocative is *pluta*, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. 1. 8). Its final syllable becomes *pluta*. Thus चौर चौरा इति वाच्यमिति स्वा ॥ So also वृषल वृषला इति वाच्यमिति स्वा, वस्य वस्यो इति &c.

Though the *anuvṛitti* of the *sūtra* VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the *sentence* is not *pluta*, but of the *āmredita*.

Vārt :—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be *pluta* by alternation. Thus चौरा चौर or चौर चौरा इति ॥ The word *āmredita* is employed in the *sūtra* as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by *both* words, so *pluta* may be of *both* words in turn: and not of the second word only, though that is called technically *āmredita*.

अङ्गयुक्तं तिङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, युक्तम्, तिङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गद्वयेन युक्तं तिङन्तमाकाङ्क्षं भर्त्सने भवते ॥

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes *pluta*, when the word *अङ्ग* is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अङ्ग कूर्जो इति दशार्थं ज्ञास्यसि जालम् ॥ अङ्ग व्याहर्त्त इति दशार्थं ज्ञास्यसि जालम् ॥

Why do we say 'a verb'? Observe अङ्ग देववत् मिथ्या वदसि ॥

Why do we say "when this calls for a conclusion"? Observe अङ्ग पच ॥ Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word *भर्त्सने* of the last *sūtra* is understood here also. Therefore not here, अङ्ग अधीष्व, ओदनं ते दास्यामि ॥ Here *अङ्ग* has the force of solicitation, (VIII. 1. 33).

विचार्यमाणानाम् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विचार्य-माणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणेन वस्तुपरीक्षणं विचारः । तस्य विषये विचार्यमाणानां वाक्यानां देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is *pluta*, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments *pro* and *con* is called *vichāra* or judgment. Thus होतव्यं क्षीरितस्य गृहा इति न होतव्यमिति "should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person". Similarly तिष्ठेयुपा इति, अनुग्रहे

शूर्वाऽइ ॥ Here also it is being reflected upon whether शूर्पे तिष्ठेत् or शूर्पे अनुमहेत् ॥ i. e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamāna. किं शूर्पस्तिष्ठेत्, किं वा शूर्पं यजमानः शाययेत् ॥

पूर्वं तु भाषायाम् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वम्, तु, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायां विषये विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव श्रवते ॥

98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only pluta.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus अहि नृः रज्जुर्नु 'Is it a snake or a rope'? लोहो नृः कपोतोनु 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

प्रतिश्रवणे च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिश्रवणे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिश्रवणमभ्युपगमः प्रतिज्ञानम् ॥ श्रवणाभिमुख्यं च तत्राविरोधात्सर्वस्य महजम् ॥ प्रतिश्रवण यद्वाक्यं वर्तते तस्य देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is pluta.

The word प्रतिश्रवण means "agreement, assent or promise". It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus गां मे दहि भोः, 1. हन्त ते दशमिः ॥ 2. नित्यः शब्दो भवितुमर्हति ॥ 3. देवदत्त भोः, किमर्थ्यः ॥

अनुदात्तं प्रश्नान्ताभिपूजितयोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, प्रश्न-अन्त, अभिपूजितयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्नान्ते अभिपूजिते च ॥

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is pluta, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्नान्तः ॥ According to some, this rule does not ordain pluta, but only ordains the anudātta-ness of those syllables which become pluta by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That pluta which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudātta.

Thus अगमोऽः पूर्वोऽन् मानोऽन् अग्निभूताऽइ or अगमोऽः पूर्वोऽन् मानोऽन् पडाऽइ (i. e. अगमः पूर्वान् मानान् अग्निभूते or पदे) ॥ The words अग्निभूते, and पदे being finals in a

question, become anudâṭṭa as well as pluta. The other words अगमः &c become svarita and pluta by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिपूजिते we have शोभनः खल्वसि माणवका ३ ॥ Here the final of माणवक becomes anudâṭṭa and pluta.

चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, इति, च, उपमा-अर्थे, प्रयुज्यमाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते चिदित्येतस्मिन्निपाते उपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने वाक्यस्य देरनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudâṭṭa and pluta, when the particle चित् is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अनुदात्तं is understood here. This sūtra ordains pluta as well and not merely accent.

Thus अग्निचित् भायाश्नु 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजचित् भायाश्नु 'may he shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कथं चित् आहुः ॥ Here चित् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुज्यमाने 'when expressly employed'? Observe अग्नि माणवको भायात् 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चित् is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

उपरिस्विदासीदिति च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि-स्विद्-आसीत्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्त्तते ॥ उपरिस्विदासीत्येतस्य देरनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

102. In उपरि स्विद् आसीद् the end vowel is anudâṭṭa and pluta.

The word anudâṭṭa is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been pluta here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sūtra really ordains accentlessness of this pluta.

Thus अधः स्विदासीश्नु, उपरि स्विदासीश्नु (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion आसीत् is pluta and udâṭṭa by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudâṭṭa by the present sūtra.

स्वरितमाध्रेडितेसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितम्, आध्रे-डिते, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति आध्रेडिते परतः असूयायां सम्मतौ कोपे कुत्सने च गम्यमान ॥

वा० ॥ असूयादिषु वा वचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes pluta and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sūtra ordains pluta there. Thus Envy :—माणवकाश् माणवक, अभिरूपकाश् अभिरूपक, रिक्तं त अभिरूप्यम् ॥ Praise :—

माणवकांश्च माणवक, अर्भिरूपकांश्च अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसि ॥ Anger :—माणवकांश्च माणवक, अर्भिविनीतकांश्च अविनीतक इदानीं शास्यसि आत्म्य ॥ Blame :—शान्तीकांश्च शान्तीक, यादृकीकांश्च यादृकी रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ॥

Vart :—The word “optionally” should be read into this sūtra. Thus there is no pluta and svarita in one alternative As माणवक माणवक &c.

क्षियाशीः प्रैषेषु तिङाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिया, आशी, प्रैषेषु, तिङ्-आकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरित इति वर्तते । क्षिया आचारभेदः । आशीः प्रार्थनाविशेषः । शब्देन व्यापारणं प्रैषः । एतेषु गन्धमानेषु तिङन्तामकाङ्क्षं यत्तस्य स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति ॥

104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes pluta and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word ‘svarita’ is understood here. The word क्षिया means ‘the error in usage’ or ‘want of good breeding’. (VIII.1.60) आशीः means ‘benediction’. प्रैषः means ‘order’ or ‘commanding by words’.

Thus (1) स्वयं स्येन यौतिंश्च, उपाध्यायं पशति गमयति ॥ स्वयं ओदनं भुङ्क्तेश्च, उपाध्यायं सक्तून् पाययति ॥ In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकाङ्क्षा ॥

Benediction :—युतांश्च लप्सीष्टांश्च धनं च तात ; छन्दोध्येषीष्टांश्च व्याकरणं च, भद्र ॥

Order :—कटं कुर्वंश्च मामं च गच्छ ; यवान् लुनीहिंश्च, सक्तून्श्च पिब ॥

Why do we say “when it requires another sentence as its complement”? Observe शीर्षं ते आयुस्तु ; अग्नीन् विहर ॥ There cannot be any counter-example of क्षिया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

अनन्त्यस्यापि प्रश्नाख्यानयोः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनन्त्यस्य, अपि, प्रश्न, आख्या-नयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्त्यस्यापि अन्यस्यापि पदस्य टेः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्ने आख्याने च ॥

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and pluta, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word ‘padasya’ is understood here : and so also the word ‘svarita’. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and pluta, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, *all* the words of a sentence become svarita and pluta hereby.

Thus in questioning we have :—आगमांश्च पूर्वांश्च मामांश्च आग्नि भूतांश्च or पदांश्च ॥ Thus all words have become svarita and pluta. The final word

would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100; as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word अण् in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an *optional* sūtra with regard to question.

In *ākhyāna* or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, *all* words become svarita and *pluta necessarily*, by the force of this sūtra. Thus अगनांश्च पूर्वांश्च मानांश्च भेदाः ॥

Another view of this sūtra is that the word अण् applies only to *ākhyāna*, so that in *ākhyāna* *all* words become svarita. But in *prāśna*, the final word will not become svarita, but anudatta *necessarily* by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain *option*. This view is not adopted by Kāsikā, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतौ, ऐचः, इदुतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूराद्भूतादिषु प्लुतो विहितः तत्र ऐचः प्लुतमसङ्गं तदवयवभूतावि इतौ प्लुतौ ॥

106. In forming the *pluta* of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, their last element इ and उ get the *pluta*.

The *pluta* ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or औ, cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of इ or उ ॥ The word प्लुतौ in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्लुत, and the aphorism literally means "इ and उ are *pluta* of the diphthongs ऐ and औ" ॥

Thus ऐश्चिकायन, औश्चगव ॥

The letters ऐ and औ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of अ+इ and अ+उ ॥ In making the *pluta* of these, the question arises, should both अ and इ (or उ) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, अ be taken as having one mātra (or *moras*), and इ and उ one mātrā, then the *pluta* इ and उ will have two mātrās, so that the whole *pluta* ऐ and औ will have *three* mātrās. In fact, the word प्लुत is used here as a Past Participle of प्लु, having the force of a verb; and इदुतौ प्लुतौ means इदुतौ प्लुते i. e. वृद्धिं गच्छतः, i. e. इ and उ are lengthened. And इ and उ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ऐ and औ *three* mātrās. Thus when अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mātrā, then the *pluta* of इ and उ will have *two* mātrās as we have said before. But when अ+इ (ऐ) and अ+उ (औ) are considered to have अ *half* mātra, and इ and उ one mātrā and a half, then इ and उ are made *pluta*, so as to have two and a half (2½) mātrās each, thus the whole of ऐ and औ, has still *three* mātrās. In fact, the definition of *pluta* is, that it is a vowel which has *three* mātrās: so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have *three* mātrās.

But according to Patanjali, this *pluta* of ऐ and औ has *four* mātrās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ each has *one* mātrā. The *pluta* of इ and उ will have

three mātṛās. Thus अ+इ३ and अ+उ३, or the *whole* has *four* mātṛās. According to this view a vowel may have *four* mātṛās also.

एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्धूते पूर्वस्यार्द्धस्यावुत्तरस्येदुतौ ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचो, अ-प्रगृह्यस्य, अदूराद्धूते, पूर्वस्य अर्धस्य, आत्, उत्तरस्य ईत्, उतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्धूते प्लुतविषयस्यार्द्धस्याकार आदेशो भवति स च प्लुतः उत्तरस्येकारोकारादेशो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विषयपरिगणं कर्तव्यं ॥ वा० ॥ प्रभ्रान्ताभिपूजितविचार्यमाणप्रत्यभिवादयाज्यान्तोष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ आगन्त्रिते छन्दसि प्लुतविकारोऽयं वक्तव्यः ॥

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragṛhya (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become pluta under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion इ or उ ॥

The diphthongs or एच् are ए, ऐ, औ and औ ॥ Their elements are अ+इ, and अ+उ ॥ When these diphthongs are to be prolated, *at the end of a word*, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the *first* portion अ is prolated, and इ or उ added, as the case may be. This इ and उ, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be इ or उ, or ए or औ ॥

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

Vart:—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

Vart:—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अगमा३ः पूर्वा३न् मामा३न् अग्निभूता३र्ह ॥ or पटा३र्ह ॥ भद्रं करोषि माणवका३ अग्निभूता३र्ह or पटा३र्ह ॥ So also VIII. 2. 97: होतव्यं वीक्षितस्य गृहा३र्ह ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as:—आयुष्मान् एधि अग्निभूता३र्ह or पटा३र्ह ॥ So also VIII. 2. 90:—as.

उक्षात्राय वशात्राय सोमपृष्ठाय वेधसे ।

स्तोमैर्विधेमाग्रया३र्ह ॥ (Tait. S. I. 3. 14. 7).

This pluta आ is udātta, anudātta or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i. e. at the end of a question it is anudātta or svarita, and every where else, udātta. The इ and उ are of course, always udātta: because the anuvṛitti of udātta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विष्णुभूते विष्णुभूते३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा आगच्छ भो माणवक विष्णुभूते ॥

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words अदूराद्धूते in the sūtra, are redundant: and should not have

been used. Moreover the word पदान्त should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the end of a pada. Therefore, not here, भद्रं करोषि गौरिति ॥ Here गौ before the sarvanāmasthāna affix सु is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say 'when it is not a Praghyā'? Observe शोभने खलु स्थःखद्वे ॥

Vārt :—This peculiar modification of pluta vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अग्रा३इ पद्मीवा३ः सङ्गोवेन स्वष्ट्रा सोमं पिब ॥ Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

तयोर्ग्रावचि संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः य, वौ, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तयोर्ग्रावचि संहितायाम् ॥ तयोः य, वौ, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥

Kārikā :—किं तु यणा भवतीह न सिद्धं ग्रावितोऽर्थद्वयं विदधाति ।

तौ च मम स्वरसन्धिषु सिद्धौ शाकलदीर्घविधी तु निवर्त्यौ ॥

इकं तु यदा भवति प्लुतपूर्वस्तस्य यणं विदधात्यपवादम् ।

तेन तयोश्च न शाकलदीर्घोऽयणस्वरबाधनमेव तु हेतुः ॥

108. For these vowels इ and उ are substituted य् and व् when a vowel follows them in a samhita (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम् is an adhikāra and exerts its influence upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Sanhitā.

Thus अग्रा३याशा, पदा३वाशा, अग्रा३यिन्द्रम्, पदा३युक्कम् ॥

Why do we say "when a vowel follows"? Observe अग्रा३इ, पदा३उ ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम् 'in an uninterrupted flow of speech'? Observe अग्रा३इ इन्द्रम्, पदा३उ उक्कम् in Pada Pāṭha.

This sūtra is made, because इ and उ being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these इ and उ be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vārtika इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णदीर्घं बाधनार्थं यणादेशो वक्तव्यः (Vārtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent यण accent (VIII. 2. 4).

Kārikā :—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the यणादेश of VI. 1. 77, that the Achārya has taught this separate य् and व् substitution?

Ans.—If you say that pluta is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñāpaka in sūtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Śākala rule VI. 1. 127.

Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that यणदेश takes place of such a vowel following a pluta (See vārtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the यण-accent of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not pluta-elements, like the present इ and उ, but which are *independent* vowels following after a pluta vowel. As भोइ इ इन्द्र = भोइ यिन्द्र ॥

Here इ is a Nipāta.



अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

मनुवसो रु सम्बुद्धौ छन्दसि ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनु, वसोः, रु, सम्बुद्धौ, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मत्स्वन्तस्य वस्वन्तस्य च पदस्य रुत्स्वयमादेशो भवति सम्बुद्धौ परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वन उपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भवद्भगवदधवत्तमोवायस्य ॥

1. For the final of the affixes मन् and वस्, there is substituted रु, in the Vocative singular, in the Chhandas.

The word संहितायां is understood here. A word ending in the affix मन् or वस्, changes its final न् or स् into रु, in the Chhandas, in the Vocative singular. Thus मन् :—इन्द्रं मरुत्वं इह पाहि सोमम् (Rig. III. 51. 7) हरिवो मेदिनं स्वा ॥ Here मरुत्वं is Vocative Sg. of मरुत्वं and हरिवः of हरिवत्, meaning "he who is possessed of Maruts or Hari horses". The म of मन् is changed to व by VIII. 2. 10 ; 15. The base मरुत् before this termination is Bha by I. 4. 19. The affix सु (nom. sg.) is elided by VI. 1. 68 ; the न् is elided by VIII. 2. 23, and the व् (of वस् VII. 1. 70) is changed to रु by this sūtra. So also इन्द्रायाहि तूतुजानः उपब्रह्माणि हरिवः (Rig. I. 3. 6).

With वस् :—मीढृस्तोकाय तनयाय वृळ (Rig. II. 33. 14), इन्द्रसाह्वः ॥ See VI. 1. 12, for the formation of मीढ्वान्, साह्वान् with कृष्ण ॥

Why do we say 'of मन् and वस्'? Observe ब्रह्मन् स्तोत्रायाम् ॥ Why do we say in the Vocative Singular? Observe य एवं विद्वानग्निमाधत्ते ॥ Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe हे गोमन्, हे पपिवन् ॥

Vart :—The affix वन् should also be enumerated. The affixes कृनिप् and वनिप् are both meant here. Its final is also changed to रु in the Vocative Sg. As यस्त्वायन्तं वसुना प्रातरित्स्वः ॥ The word प्रातरित्स्वन् is formed by adding कृनिप् to the root इ (इण्) preceded by प्रातः ॥ See III. 2. 75. The तुक् is added by VI. 1. 71.

Vārt :—The finals of भवत्, भगवत् and अघवत् are changed to रु, optionally in the secular as well as the sacred literature, and the syllable अव् of these words is changed to ओ ॥ This is a general rule, applying both in the Vedas and the Bhāṣhā. Thus भवत्—हे भोः or हे भवन् ॥ भगवत्—हे भगोः or हे भगवन् ॥ अघवत्—हे अघोः or हे अघवन् ॥ Or these words भोः भगोः and अघोः are so irregularly formed by the āchārya himself in VIII. 3. 17. These are found in other numbers than the Vocative Singular, as भो देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ, भो देवदत्तयज्ञदत्त विष्णुमित्राः ॥ It is found in connection with Feminine nouns also, as भो ब्राह्मणि ॥

The adhikāra of the word संहितायां does not exert any apparent influence in this sūtra. It however has influence in those subsequent sūtras, where the change in one word is occasioned by another word on account of saṁhita or juxta-position, as in VIII. 3. 7.

See VIII. 2. 3 (Vārtika 2) by which the lopa is considered siddha in हरिवः, otherwise there would have been no ड change in हरिवो मे &c.

अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, अनुनासिकः, पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । इत उत्तरं यस्य स्थाने रुर्बिधीयते ततः पूर्वस्य तु वर्णस्य वाऽनुनासिको भवतीत्यनुनासिकं वेदितव्यम् ॥

2. In the following sūtras upto VIII. 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—“But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which रु has been ordained”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which रु has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where रु is the subject of discussion.

Thus sūtra VIII. 3. 5 says “In the place of the final of सम्, there is रु when सुद् augment follows”. The vowel अ of सम् becomes nasal ; as संस्कृता, संस्कृतम्, संस्कृत्यम् ॥

Why have we used the word अत्र in the sūtra ? It means “here i. e. in this division where रु is the subject of discussion”. Obj. This object would have been gained, without using the word अत्र ; since it is an adhikāra sūtra and would apply to रु ॥ Ans. No. Here रु is taught in connection with nasal, therefore, the rule would not apply to any other context. For had अत्र not been used, we could not have known the extent of the jurisdiction (adhikāra) of this nasal ; and we might have applied the rule of nasality to those beyond the jurisdiction of रु, such as VIII. 3. 13. The employment of अत्र prevents this doubt and shows that रु and nasality are co-extensive.

आतोऽदि नित्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अदि, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदि परतो रोः पूर्वस्याकारस्य स्थाने नित्यमनुनासिकादेशो भवति ॥

3. A nasal vowel is *always* substituted for आ before रु, when it is followed by a letter of अद् pratyâhâra (i. e. when it is followed by a vowel or ह, य, व, or र).

Thus VIII. 3. 9 teaches रु substitution of न्, the long आ preceding it, would have been optionally nasal by the last sūtra. The present sūtra makes it necessarily so. Thus नहीं अस्ति (Rig. III. 46. 2) नहीं इन्द्रो य ओजसा (Rig. VIII. 6. 1). देवाँ अच्छासीव्यत् ॥

Some (i. e. the Taittiriya) read it as anusvāra. This is a Vedic diversity.

Why do we say "for a long आ"? Observe ये वा वनस्पतीरनु ॥ Why do we say "when a vowel or ह, य, व, or र follows"? Observe भवांश्चरति, भवांश्छादयति ॥

The word नित्य 'always' is employed for the sake of distinctness only. The very fact of making a separate sūtra, would give it a compulsory force, even without the word nitya.

अनुनासिकात्परो ऽनुस्वारः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकात्, परः, अनुस्वारः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकादन्यो यो वर्णः रेः पूर्वः यस्यानुनासिको न विहितस्ततः परो ऽनुस्वार आगमो भवति ॥

4. After what precedes रु, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvāra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2. When nasal is not substituted, we add an anusvāra to such vowel. The word अन्य should be read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः "a letter *other than* a nasal", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before रु ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5, teaches रु substitution of the ऋ of सृष् an anusvāra would be added. As संस्कृत्ता, संस्कृत्तव्यम् ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 6, teaches रु substitution of the ऋ of पुष् ॥ An anusvāra will be added here also, as, पुष्कामा ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 7, teaches रु substitution of final ऋ ॥ Here also an anusvāra will be added, as भवांश्चरति ॥

Some say "the word परः in the sūtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्यः from outside". They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकादन्यः ; i. e. the anusvāra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvāra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes रु ॥

समः सुटि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, सुटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम इत्येतस्य रुमवति सुटि परतः संहितायां विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संपुंकानां सो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ समो वा लोपमके ॥

5. ह् is substituted for the म् of सम् (and thereby अँ or अं is substituted for अ) when the augment स् follows, in a samhitâ.

The augment सुद् is added by VI. 1. 137 &c. Thus सँस्कृता or संस्कृता, सँस्कृतेम् or संस्कृतेम्, सँस्कृतेव्यम् or संस्कृतेव्यम् ॥ The word is thus evolved: सम्+स्+कर्ता=सर्+स्+कर्ता (VIII. 3. 5). Here rule VIII. 3. 15 appears and requires to be changed to visarjannya. This visarga may optionally be retained unchanged by VIII. 3. 36. This, however, is not done in the present instance: but the visarga is *always* and *necessarily* changed to स् by VIII. 3. 34. In fact, the option of VIII. 3. 36 is a determinate option (vyavasthita vibhâshâ) and does not apply to the present case.

Or even this sūtra may be so read as to teach the स् substitution as well. Thus, the sūtra is सम्: स्सुद् with two स्, and the sūtra will mean, "ह् is substituted for the म् of सम् before सुद्, and this ह् is always changed to स्" ॥

Why do we say "for the म् of सम्"? Observe उपस्कृता ॥ Why do we say "before सुद्"? Observe संकृति ॥

Vârt:—For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted त् ॥ There would arise anomalies, if ह् be substituted. Thus संस्कृता, पुंस्काया, कांस्कात् ॥ In fact, according to this vârtika, ह् is never substituted for सम् (VIII. 3. 5), पुम् (VIII. 3. 6) and कान् (VIII. 3. 12).

Vârt:—समी वा लोपमेके ॥ Some would have the elision of the स् after सम् ॥ This *Vârtika* is not given in the Kâsikâ, but the Padamanjari gives it, and so also the Mahâbhâshya.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कृता ॥ Thus सँस्कृता and संस्कृता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as सँस्कृता, संस्कृता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 to this latter, and have three त्, as सँस्कृता or संस्कृता ॥ The anusvâra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms सँस्कृता, सँस्कृता and सँस्कृता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vârtika शरः खयः ॥ The three forms having anusvâra, will also double their anusvâra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvâra: and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त् will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one त्, two त् and three त्, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when अण् is nasalised.

पुमः खय्यम्परे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमः, खयि, अम-परे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुमित्येतस्य रुभवति अम्परे खयि परतः ॥

6. ह् is substituted for the म् of पुम्. (whereby the

उ is changed to ऊँ or उँ) before a surd mute (ख्य्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyâhâra).

Thus पुँस्क्रामा or पुँस्क्रामा; पुँस्पुत्रः or पुँस्पुत्रः; पुँस्फलं or पुँस्फलम्; पुँश्चली or पुँश्चली ॥ The visarga in पुँस्क्रामा required to be changed optionally to × jihvâ-mûliya by VIII. 3. 37, but it is not so done. It is changed *always* to स् here by VIII. 3. 34, also. The स् of पुँस् is dropped by VIII. 2. 23, and the preceding sound is च, which comes to light in forms like पुमान् &c. For the sake of distinctness, Pāṇini has elected to exhibit the shorter form पुम् when in the beginning of a composition: because this shorter form पुम् is the real stem in composition. ख्य् pratyâhâra includes the ten hard consonants, and अम् pratyâhâra includes all vowels, semivowels and nasals. पुँस्क्रामा is formed by the affix ण = पुमांसं कामयते ॥

In that alternative when we read the preceding sūtra as स्तनःस्सुदि, then the anuvṛitti of this स् will be current in the present sūtra also, and so there will be no scope for the operation of VIII. 3. 37. And though the anuvṛitti of ह is also current, yet it will not apply here, because of its non-appropriateness in that alternative.

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुँशसः, पुँगवः (V. 4. 92). Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe पुँक्षीरः, पुँक्षुरः ॥ Why do we use the word परे in the sūtra? Had we not used it, the sūtra might have been open to this construction also. The च् of पुम् is so changed before a ख्य् letter which has an अम् letter, (whether *preceding* it or *following* it). So that the rule would have applied to पुमाख्यः, पुमाचारः ॥

नदृष्टव्यप्रशान् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, छवि, अप्रशान् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य पदस्य प्रशान्त्वर्जितस्य रुर्भवत्यम्परे छवि परतः ॥

7. ह is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छव् letter (छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word अप्रशान् in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.

Thus भवौँछादयति or भवाँँछादयति; भवौँँचिनोति or भवाँँचिनोति; भवौँँटीकते or भवाँँटीकते, (from the root टीकि 'to go'), भवौँँस्तरति or भवाँँस्तरति ॥

Why do we say 'before a छव् letter'? Observe भवान् करोति ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशान् छादयति, प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अम् follows छव्'? See भवान् स्तरुक् ॥ स्तरु is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called स्तरुक्: (कन् V. 2. 64).

उभयथर्तु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभयथा, ऋक्षु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य पदस्य छविपरतः अम्पर उभयथा ऋक्षु भवति ॥

8. In both ways, in the Rig verses.

This ordains an option to the last sūtra, by which the रु substitution was compulsory. A word ending in न् followed by a letter of छव् class, which itself is followed by अम्, changes its final न् to र् optionally in the Rig Veda. Sometimes there is र् and sometimes न् ॥ Thus तस्मिन् स्वा दधाति or तस्मिन् स्वा दधाति ; पशून्स्तौ भवे ॥

Why do we say "in the Rig verses". No option is allowed here तस्मिन् स्वाद सुखादितान् ॥

दीर्घाददि समानपादे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, अटि, समानपादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्य पदान्तस्य नकारस्य रुभवत्यदि परतस्तौ चेन्नितानिनिमित्तौ समानपादे भवतः ॥

9 रु is optionally substituted for that final न् of a word which is preceded by a long vowel, and is followed by an अट् letter (vowels and semi-vowels with the exception of छ), when these (न् and अट्) come in contact with each other in the same stanza of the Rig Veda.

The नः of VIII. 3. 7 is understood here : and so also ऋक्षु ॥ The word समानपाद् means एकपाद्, i. e. when both words are in one and the same Pāda of the verse. Thus परिधीं रति (Rig. IX. 107. 19) स देवीं एहवक्षति (Rig. I. 1. 2) देवीं अच्छादीव्यन् ; महौ इन्द्रो य ओजसा ॥

Why do we say 'preceded by a long vowel'? Observe अहन्नहिम् ॥ Why do we say "when followed by a vowel or य, व or र"? Observe इभ्यान् क्षत्रियान् ॥ Why do we say 'when both words are in the same Pāda of a verse'? Observe यातुधानान् उपस्पृशः ॥

The word उभयथा of the preceding sūtra is understood here also : so that it is an optional rule : and न् remains unchanged also, as आदित्यान् हवामहे आदित्यान् याचिषामहे ॥ See VIII. 3. 3.

नृन्पे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ नृन्, पे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृनिर्त्येतस्य नकारस्य रुभवति पशब्दे परतः ॥

10. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नृन् before प् ॥

The अ in प is for the sake of pronunciation only. Thus नृः पाहि or नृः पाहि ; नृः प्रीणीहि or नृः प्रीणीहि ॥

Why do we say 'before-प्'? Observe नृन् भोजयति ॥ Some read the anuvṛtti of उभयथा into this sūtra, so that it is an optional one. Thus we have नृन् पाहि also. The nominative case in नृन् has the force of Genitive.

स्वतवान्पायौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतवान्, पायौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतवानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति पायुशब्द परतः ॥

11. The न् of स्वतवान् is changed to रु before पायु ॥

As स्वतविः पायुरंगे (Rig. IV. 2. 6). The word is स्वतवस्, the नुम् is added by VII. 1. 83. The word is derived from तु वृद्धौ with the affix अमुन् (स्वन्तवो यस्यऽसौ स्वतवान्) ॥

कानाम्नेडिते ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कान्, आम्नेडिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रुर्भवति आम्नेडिते परतः ॥

12. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an âmreḍita.

The sūtra might have been कान् कानि; but the use of the longer form आम्नेडिते shows, that where there is 'doubling', and the word gets the designation of âmreḍita, then the rule applies. Thus काँस्कान् आमन्त्रयते, काँस्कान् भोजयति; or काँस्कान् &c. When the second कान् is not an âmreḍita, we have कान् कान् पश्यति? Here one is कि asking question, and the other is used in the sense of contempt. This word is read in the list of कस्कादि (VIII. 3. 48), and hence sūtra VIII. 3. 37, does not apply. Or the स् of समः स्मुदि (VIII. 3. 5), is understood here, and that स् is enjoined here and not रु ॥ It should not be objected that in the preceding sūtras also स् should be enjoined and not रु; because in those sūtras रु is appropriate but not so here.

Why do we say 'when an âmreḍita कान् follows'? Observe कान् कान् पश्यति where one is interrogatory and the other denotes contempt (II. 1. 64).

ढो ढे लोपः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढः, ढे, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढकारस्य ढकार लोपो भवति ॥

13. There is elision of ढ when ढ follows.

Though this sūtra is read in the division of Grammar which is governed by पञ्चाधिकार, yet this elision takes place only then when the ढ is not at the end of a pada. Thus लीड from लिङ्+त ॥ The ङ is changed to ढ by VIII. 2. 31, and the त is first changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40, and then to ढ by VIII. 4. 41. Thus लिङ्+ढ ॥ The first ङ is elided by this sūtra. Similarly मीडम्, उप-गुडम् ॥ The change of ध into ढ by VIII. 4. 41, should be considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of this rule, otherwise this rule will find no scope.

Obj:—It will find scope before that ढ which is primary, as in श्लिङ्+ढौकते, where ढ of ढौकते is primary.

Ans.—No. Here the first ढ will be changed to ङ by जङ् rule (VIII. 2. 39) and so there will be no occasion to elide it. The form will be श्लिङ् ढौकते ॥ Nor is this ढ लोपः rule an apavāda to जङ् rule, because it has its scope in लीड &c. For the जङ् rule depends upon one pada, and is antarangā, or being

prior to this the lopa is asiddha with regard to it. Therefore जदस्व will take place first. Moreover in लिङ्+ङ there is similarity of *sounds* (श्रुतिकृतं आनन्तर्यम्); though there may not be theoretical similarity (शास्त्रकृतं आनन्तर्यम्) when the change of ध into ङ by VIII. 4. 41, is considered asiddha. But this theoretical technical dissimilarity will be removed by the express text of the present sūtra. But in श्रुतिङ् दौकते there is neither similarity of sounds (śruti kṛtamānantaryam) between ङ् and ङ, nor similarity created by any technical rule; therefore ङ लोप has no scope here. It is Bahiranga as well as subsequent to जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39), and therefore doubly asiddha; and consequently it does not debar the जश् rule. So when ङ् is changed to ङ् by जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39) in श्रुतिङ्, then there remains no sort of ānantarya—neither of śruti nor of śāstra.

रो रि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, रि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेकस्य रेके परतो लोपो भवति ॥

14. र् is elided before a र् ॥

The sūtra is रः रि, and not रोः रि ॥ That is रोः रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of र्, and रोः would be the Genitive of रु ॥ The sūtra is not confined to रु only, but to every र् in general including रु ॥ Thus नीरक्तम्, वृक्तम्, where it is simple र् of निर् and दुर; and अग्नी रथः, and इन्द्र रथः where it is रु (अग्निः रथः, इन्द्रः रथः). The lengthening is by VI. 3. 111. The word पदस्य is understood here, and the Genitive here has the force of विशेषण i. e. a quality, or avayava-shashṭhi; i. e. when रेक is a *portion* of the pada. Thus a रेक which is not at the end of a pada is also elided. Had the Genitive been construed as sthāna-shashṭhi, then रेक would qualify पद, and the rule would mean “र् should be elided before a र् when at the end of a word.” ॥ See VIII. 1. 16. But we have the elision of the *penultimate* र् in अजर्घर् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्घाः ॥ See VIII. 2. 37. So also अपासाः from स्पर्ध in Intensive, Imperfect. The reduplicate is lengthened by VII. 4. 83, the षप् is elided, and सिप् is elided by VI. 1. 68, the final ध् is changed to द् by VIII. 2. 39, and this द् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75.

खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खर, अवसानयोः, विसर्जनीयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफान्तस्य पदस्य खरि परतो ज्वस्ताने च विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

15. The Visarjanīya is substituted for र्, before a खर् consonant or when there is a Pause.

The word रः is understood. The visarga is the substitute of र् final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause,

Thus वृक्षच्छादयति (VIII. 3. 34, VIII. 4. 40), दृक्षच्छादयति, वृक्षस्तरति, दृक्षस्तरति वृक्षच्छकारः, दृक्षच्छकारः, वृक्षष्टीकते, दृक्षष्टीकते, वृक्षश्चिनोति, दृक्षश्चिनोति ॥ Pause:—वृक्षः; दृक्षः ॥

Who do we say “before a खर् consonant or at a Pause”? Observe अग्निर्नयति, वायुर्नयति, नार्कुटः (नृ कुक्ष्यां भवः), नार्पत्यः (नृपतेरपत्यं) ॥ In these two latter,

the Vṛiddhi being considered as Bahiranga, and the र् being the result of such Bahiranga Vṛiddhi, is asiddha, and is consequently not changed to visarga.

The word पदस्य is understood here, and the genitive should be construed here as sthāna-sashṭhi, so that for the final इ of a Pada there is visarga, and not for that र् which is not final.

रोः सुपि ॥ पदानि ॥ रोः, सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रु इत्येतस्य रेफस्य सुपि परतो विसर्जनीयदेशो भवति ॥

16. Visarjaniya is substituted for the रु called र् (and not any other र्), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

Thus पयःसु, सर्पिःषु, यज्ञःसु ॥ The word सुप् is here the Locative Plural affix. Though the र् would have been changed to visarga by the last sūtra also; the making of this a special sūtra is for the sake of niyama. That is, only रु becomes visarga, and not any other र् ॥ Thus गीर्षु, भूर्षु, when the र् is not रु ॥ In पयस् &c, the स् becomes रु by VIII. 2. 66.

भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योशि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भो, भगो, अघो, अपूर्वस्य, यः, अशि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भो भगो अघो इत्येवंपूर्वस्य अवणेपूर्वस्य च रो रेफस्य यकारोदेशो भवति अशि परतः ॥

17. य् is substituted for the रु called र्, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अश् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

Thus भो अज, भगो अज, अघो अज, भो ददाति, भगो ददाति, अघो ददाति ॥ क आस्ते, कय् आस्ते, ब्राह्मणा ददाति, पुरुषा ददाति ॥ The य् is elided by VIII. 3. 19, 20, 22 &c. With य, the forms will be भोयज, भगोयज, अघोयज ॥

Why do we say 'when preceded by भो &c'? Observe अग्निरज, वायुरज ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अश् pratyāhāra'? Observe वृक्षः, वृक्षः ॥ No, this is no valid counter-example, because no other word follows the visarga; while some word must follow it because the word sanhitā (VIII. 2. 108) is understood here.

Ans.—If this be so, then अश् is employed in this sūtra for the sake of subsequent sūtras. Its employment here is superfluous. For letters other than अश् are खर् ॥ Before a खर् letter, the र् will be changed to visarga by VIII. 3. 15; and the यत्वं of this rule will be considered as asiddha for the purposes of VIII. 3. 15, so there will necessarily be visarga. Thus अश् serves no purpose in this sūtra, but is for the sake of subsequent ones. Thus in VIII. 3. 22, the word हलि must be qualified by the word अश्, namely those consonants only which are in the class अश् ॥ Before any other consonant there will be no elision of य ॥ Thus वृक्षं वृक्षति = वृक्षवृद् ॥ The denominative verb from this will be वृक्षवयति ॥ A secondary derivative from this root, with the affix

विच् will be वृक्षच् as in वृक्षच् करोति ॥ Here च् would require elision by VIII. 3. 22, before क्, but it is not so because अक्षि qualifies हलि ॥

Obj.—If so, why is the word हल् used in that sūtra VIII. 3. 22, it would have been better to say हक्षि सर्वेषाम् instead of हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥

Ans.—The word हल् is used in that sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VIII. 3. 23, which applies to *all* consonants. Had हक्षि been used in VIII. 3. 22, then in VIII. 3. 23, हलि ought to have been used.

Moreover अक्षि is used in this sūtra, so that rules VIII. 3. 18, 19 may not apply to वृक्षच् करोति ॥

This sūtra applies to ह् called र्, therefore not here प्रातरच्, पुनरच् ॥

व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्योः, लघुप्रयत्नतरः, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोर्भोगोअघोअवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तव्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतर आदेशो भवति, अक्षि परतः, शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

18. व् and य् (in भगोय् &c and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana.

That the effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna - tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. व् and य् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व् and य् in भोय्, भगोय्, अघोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter व् will replace the heavy व्, and so the lighter य् the heavy य् ॥

Thus भोयच्, भगोयच्, अघोयच्, कयास्ते or क आस्ते, अस्मायुद्धर or अस्मा उद्धर, असावा-दित्यः or असा आदित्यः, द्वावच् or द्वा अच्, द्वावानय or द्वा आनय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu prayatna - tara. In fact, य् and व् are to be slurred over.

लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, शाकल्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोः पदान्तयोरवर्णपूर्वयोर्लोपो भवति शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाक्षि परतः ॥

19. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śākalya.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उद्धर or अस्मायुद्धर, द्वावच् or द्वा अच्, असावादित्यः or असा आदित्यः ॥

The name of Śākalya is used to make it an optional rule. Therefore, where there is not the lighter articulation of व् and य् by the last sūtra, there

also in the other alternative the fuller sounds of व् and य् are heard. Thus there are three forms, *heavy* व् and य्, *light* व and य and *elision* of व् and य् ॥

When व् and य् are preceded by ओ, then there is elision by the next sūtra compulsorily.

ओतो गार्ग्यस्य ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, गार्ग्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारादुत्तरस्य यकारस्य लोपो भवति गार्ग्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन भाषी परतः ॥

20. य् preceded by ओ is elided, according to the opinion of Gārgya, before an अच् letter.

There can be no व् preceded by ओ, so only य् is taken in explaining the sūtra. Thus ओ अच्, भगो अच्, भो इवम्, भगो इवम् ॥

The making of it a separate sūtra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (*nitya*) rule and not a vibhāshā rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha). The elision of laghu-prayatna य्, which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused, is hereby prohibited. So that laghu pratyatnatara य् does come also. As ओ अच् or भोयच्, भगो अच् or भगोयच्, अघो अच् and अघोयच् ॥

According to others every kind of य् (whether heavy or light) is to be elided: and भोयच् is not valid in their opinion.

उञ्जि च पदे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्जि, च पदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णपूर्वयोः व्योः पादान्तयोर्लोपो भवति उञ्जि च पदे परतः ॥

21. व् and य् (preceded by अ or आ, at the end of a pada), and followed by उ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* उ is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word उञ्, and not the उञ्, which is a root obtained by the samprasāraṇa of वेञ् ॥ Thus स उ एकविंशतिः, स उ एकस्मिन् ॥

Why do we use the word पदे "उ" when it is a pada? So that the rule may not apply to उञ् the form assumed by वेञ् by samprasāraṇa as तन्त्रे उतं = तन्त्रयुतम् ॥ Obj. उञ् could never have meant the form assumed by वेञ्, for the samprasāraṇa of वेञ् is उ, the उञ् is merely indicative. Moreover the maxim of lakṣhaṇa-pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उञ् resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle उञ् ॥

Ans. — The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3. 32. So that इष्टुच् may come before a *word* beginning with a vowel, and not before a vowel which is an affix. Thus there is no double व् in परमदण्डिना ॥ This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional. Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19, would have been enough.

हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि परतो भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य यकारस्य पदान्तस्य लोपो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

22. (The **य** preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all Âchâryas.

Thus भो हसति, भगो हसति, अघो हसति; भो याति, भगो याति अघो, याति, वृक्षा हसन्ति ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of **वृ** and **य** both is present here, yet we have taken **य** only to the exclusion of **वृ** ॥ Because after भो, भगो and अघो there is **य** only, and never **वृ**; and **वृ** can come only when preceded by अ or आ: the only example of which given by Grammarians is वृक्षवृ करोति (VIII. 3. 17). Here **वृ** is not elided, because the word अक्षि qualifies the word हलि of this sūtra.

Q.—But **वृ** should be elided in वृक्षवृ हसति, because **हृ** is an अक्ष letter.

Ans.—There is no such example to be found in any standard author. Moreover Patanjali in his commentary on the Pratyâhâra sūtra लण् says that no words can end in हृ, खृ, रृ, वृ or लृ ॥ So that the existence of the very word वृक्षवृ is doubtful.

The word sarveshâm indicates that VIII. 3. 18, even does not apply, and there is no light articulation, but lopa there too.

मोऽनुस्वारः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, अनुस्वारः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारस्य पदान्तस्यानुस्वार आदेशो भवति हलि परतः ॥

23. The Anusvâra is substituted for **म्**, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus कुण्डं हसति, वनं हसति, कुण्डं याति, वनं याति ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sūtra. Therefore not here, स्वमत्र, किमत्र ॥ The **म्** must be at the end of pada; therefore not here; गम्यते, रम्यते ॥

नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, अपदान्तस्य, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाकारस्य मकारस्य चापदान्तस्यानुस्वारोदेशो भवति झलि परतः ॥

24. The Anusvâra is substituted for the **न्** and **म्**, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus पयांसि, यशांसि, सर्पिंसि, धन्वंसि with **न्** (VII. 1. 72); and आक्रंस्यते, आवि-क्रंस्यते, अधिजिगांसते with **म्** ॥

Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? Observe राजन् मुहूर्ध्व ॥ Why do we say 'before a हल् consonant'? See रम्यते, गम्यते ॥

मो राजि समः कौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, राजि, समः, कौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समो मकारस्य मकार आदेशो भवति राजतौ क्विप्प्रत्ययान्ते परतः ॥

25. **म्** is substituted for the **म्** of सम, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्विप् ॥

Thus सन्नाद्, साम्राज्यम् ॥ The substitution of न् for म् is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (cf VII. 1. 40). Why do we say 'before राज्'? See संयन् (VI. 4. 40 Vārt). Why do we say 'of सम्'? Observe किं राद् (V. 4. 70). Why do we say 'ending with क्विप्'? Observe संराजिता, संराजितुम्, संराजितव्यम् ॥

The क्विप् is added by III. 2. 61, the ञ् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to ह् at the end of a word, in सन्नाद् ॥ साम्राज्यम् is formed by व्यञ् affix, as it belongs to Brāhmanādi class.

हे मपरे वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हे, मपरे, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारि मकारपरे परतो मकारस्य वा मकार आदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यवलपरे यवला वा ॥

26. म् is optionally substituted for म्, before ह्, which itself is followed by a म् ॥

The म् may be changed to anusvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with ह् ॥ Thus किं or किम् ह्वलयति, 'what does he cause to shake'? कथं ह्वलयति or कथमह्वलयति ॥

Vart:—Before ह्य, ह्, and ह्र, the preceding म् may be changed to य, व or ष respectively. Thus किं ह्यः or कियँह्यः, 'what does it matter about yesterday'? किं ह्वलयति or कियँ ह्वलयति 'what does he cause to shake'? किं ह्वलयति or कियँ ह्वलयति 'what gladdens'.

नपरे नः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपरे, नः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारपरे हे परतःमकारस्य वा नकारादेशो भवति ॥

27. न् is optionally substituted for म्, when it is followed by ह् which has a न् after it.

म् becomes न् before a word beginning with ह्; as किम् ह्वते or किं ह्वते 'what withholds'. कथमह्वते or कथं ह्वते ॥

ङ्णोः कुक्कुट् शरि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङ् णोः, कुक्, टुक्, शरि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङकारणकार्योः पदान्तयोः कुक् टुक् इत्येतावागमौ वा भवतः ॥

28. The augment क् is added to a final ङ्, and the augment ह् to a final ण्, before a sibilant, optionally.

Thus प्राङ्क् शेते, or प्राह् शेते; प्राङ्क् षष्ठः or प्राह् षष्ठः, प्राङ्क् साये or प्राह् साये ॥ षण्क् शेते or षण् शेते ॥

The augments are कुक् and टुक् with an indicative क्, showing that they are to be added to the end of the prior word (I. 1. 46), and not to the *beginning* of the second word. In sanhita reading, it would have made no difference *practically*, whether these augments were added to the *end* of the first, or the *beginning* of the second. But they are added to the end of the *first*, in order to indicate that VIII. 4. 63, will take effect. Thus we have प्राङ्क् शेते also. This छ change of श् would not have taken place, had the augment क् been added to

श् of श्ते; because in श्छोदि (VIII. 4. 63) the श् letter must be at the end of a pada. So that if क् were added to श् of श्ते, as क्श्ते, here too श् follows a श् letter, but this श् letter (क्) is not at the end of a pada, so श् will not be changed to छ (VIII. 4. 63). Thus श् is not changed to छ in the body of a word, like विरप्शिन् though प् is a श् letter. पुरा कूरस्य विसृषो विरप्शिन् ॥ विरप्शिन् = महन्, formed with the Preposition वि added to the root रप्, with the Uṇādi affix शिनि ॥

Moreover in प्राङ् साये, the स is not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. Had the augment क् been added to साये, as क्साये, the स would have been changed to ष, as प्राङ् क्षाये, for then VIII. 3. 111, would not have applied, as स was no longer at the beginning of a pada.

Moreover in षण्ड साये, the स is not changed to ष because of the prohibition of VIII. 4. 42. Had ण् been the augment of साये, as ण्साये, then there would have been the change of स to ष by VIII. 4. 41.

ङः सि धुद् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ डः, सि धुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डकारान्तापशदुत्तरस्य सकारादेः पदस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

29. After a word ending in ड्, there may optionally be added the augment ध् to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus श्लिद् साये or श्लिद् साये, मधुलिद् साये or मधुलिद् साये ॥

The word डः is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of ड्, because of the maxim उभयनिर्देशे पञ्चमी निर्दिष्टो बलीयान् ॥

Q.—Why it is धुद् and not धुक्, in other words, why is this augment added to the beginning of the second word and not to the end of the first?

Ans.—This is done in order to prevent the ह् change by VIII. 4. 41. But being at the beginning of the second word, VIII. 4. 42 would prevent this change. श्लिद् + साये = श्लिद्साये, (VIII. 4. 41) but the correct form is श्लिद् साये ॥ For the ड् of श्लिद् is ढ substituted by VIII. 2. 31, which becomes ड् by VIII. 2. 39, for the ष of the augment, स is substituted by VIII. 4. 55, and for ड् there is ड् by the same rule.

नश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तापशदुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

30. After a word ending in न्, धुद् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus भवान् साये, महान् साये or भवान् साये, महान् साये ॥ The ध् of the augment becomes न् by VIII. 4. 55. This न् is asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), and therefore न् is not changed to ण् by VIII. 3. 7. This is the reason why the augment is exhibited as धुद् and not ण् ॥ In sūtra VIII. 3. 29 ण् would have done as well but not so here. This view of the Kāśikā, however, is not approved by Padamanjari. The न् can never be changed to ण् here, because न् is followed

by *स्* which is not an *अम्* letter. The word *अम्परे* is understood in VIII. 3. 7. In fact, *तुद्* would have been a better augment.

शि तुक् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारस्य पदान्तस्य शकारे परतो वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

31. The augment *त्* may optionally be added to a word ending in *न्*, when a word beginning with *श* follows.

Thus *भवाश् छन्दे* ॥ The augment is added to the end of the preceding word, and not to the beginning of the second word, in order to change *श* into *छ* ॥ In fact, the augment *धुद्* added to the second would have been as good as *तुक्*, namely both are *त*; but then *छ* change would not have taken place.

Obj.—If this be so, then why *न्* is not changed to *ण*, since it is no longer final in a pada, when *तुक्* is added to it, in *कुर्वन् छन्दे* ॥

Ans.—This is to be thus explained. The sūtra स्तोः द्युना द्युः (VIII. 4. 40) should be divided into two parts, in order to prevent *ण* change. Thus the first part will be स्तोः द्युना, which will mean that *स* and *तु* followed by *श* and *चु* will not cause the change of *न* to *ण* ॥ The next sūtra will be द्युः, which will mean that the preceding *स* and *तु* are changed to *श* and *चु* respectively.

ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुणित्यम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङमः, ह्रस्वात्, अचि, ङमुद्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वात्परे यो ङम् तदन्तात्पशुत्तरस्याचो ङमुडागमो भवति नित्यम् ॥ ङणनेभ्यो यथासंख्यं ङणना भवति ॥

32. After a word ending in *ङ्*, *ण्* or *न्* which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant *ङ्*, *ण्* or *न्* is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word *ङमः* is in the Ablative singular here; and *ह्रस्वात्* qualifies *ङमः*; and *ङम्* itself qualifies the word *पदस्य* understood, and thus there is *tadanta-viddhi*. Though the word *पदस्य* (VIII. 1. 16) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with *ङमः* ॥ *अचि* is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here: it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. *ङम्* is a pratyāhāra meaning *ङ*, *ण* and *न्*; and so also *ङमुद्* is a pratyāhāra containing the three augments *ङुद्*, *णुद्* and *नुद्* ॥

In other words *ङ्* is augment after *ङ्*, *ण्* after *ण्* and *न्* after *न्*; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus *ङुद्* is the augment after a word ending in *ङ्*, as *प्रत्यङ्हास्ते* ॥ *णुद्* is the augment after a word ending in *ण्*, as

वण्णास्ते ॥ नुद् is the augment after a word ending in न्, as कुर्वन्नास्ते, कुर्वन्नवोचन्, कृ-
षन्नास्ते, कृषन्नवोचन् ॥

Why do we say 'ending in ङ, ण or न' ? See त्वमास्ते ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a light vowel' ? Observe प्राडास्ते, भवानास्ते ॥ Why do we say "followed by a vowel" ? Observe प्रत्यङ्करोति ॥

The Mahabhāṣya thus comments on this aphorism :—

Vārt:—ङमुदि पदादिग्रहणम् "The ङमुद् augment is added to a vowel which stands at the beginning of a word". So that in इण्डिन् + आ (Ins. Sing.), नुद् is not added to आ, because it is not the beginning of a Pada. Then should this vārtika be held to be necessary? No, because the word पदान् is understood here: so नुद् will not come in इण्डिना ॥ But then it will come in परमइण्डिन् + आ ॥ Because it is a compound of two nouns, and though the case-affixes have been elided, yet इण्डिन् is here a Pada by reason of pratyaya lakṣhaṇa; and hence there should be नुद् here added to आ ॥ Ans. This is no valid objection. इण्डिन् is not here a Pada, on the maxim उत्तरपदस्य चापदाशिविधौलुपता लुप्तं प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवति "When an affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्, the pratyaya-lakṣhaṇa rule will not apply, when the object of it is to give the designation of Pada to the second member of a compound, with the exception of the rule applying to the beginning of a Pada". Thus in परमइण्डिन् the word इण्डिन् is not treated as a पद, because the rule to be applied is to the end here. But the second member of a compound is treated like a pada, when a rule is to be applied to the beginning of a Pada. Thus in इणितेचौ, the second member सेच is considered as a Pada for the purposes of the rule सान् पदान्थोः (VIII. 3. 111), and the स is not changed to ष ॥ This view proceeds upon the supposition that the word पदान् governs this sūtra. But the anuvṛitti of पदान् ceased with VIII. 1. 27, as we stated before. How are we then to get out of this difficulty? Are we to make the above vārtika necessary? No: because the anuvṛitti of पदे from VIII. 3. 21 runs into this sūtra. So that the sūtra means अजादौ पदे ङमुद् भवति ॥ "The augment ङमुद् is added to a vowel with which a Pada commences". Not therefore to the case-affix आ in इण्डिना ॥

मय उञो वो वा ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयः, उञः, वः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मय उत्तरस्य उञो वा वकारादेशो भवति अचि परतः ॥

33. व् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह and झ), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus शम्बु अस्तु वेदिः or शम्बस्तु वेदिः, तद् उ अस्य रेतः or तद्वस्य रेतः, किम् उ भावपनम् or किम्भावपनम् ॥ The उ is a Prāgrihya by I. 1. 14, and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व् being considered asiddha, the म् is not changed to anusvāra in किम्भावपनम्, शम्बस्तु &c, by VIII. 3. 23.

When this **व** is followed by इति, and preceded by a मय् consonant, then by I. 1. 17, it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऊँ ॥ When it is not a pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by यणदिश (VI. 1. 77), or to व् by the present sūtra. In the case of यणदिश व्, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, as किंविति ॥ When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by the present sūtra as किंमिति or किंइ इति ॥ So also with ऊँ substitute, where the व् will be nasal : as किंमिविति, or ऊँ will remain unchanged, as किंम ऊँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

विसर्जनीयस्य सः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य, सः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य सकार आदेशो भवति खरि परतः ॥

34. **स्** is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (**खर**) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. Thus वृक्षदृष्टादयति, वृक्षदृष्टादयति, वृक्षदृष्टाकारः, वृक्षदृष्टकारः, वृक्षस्यकारः, वृक्षस्यकारः, वृक्षश्चिनोति, वृक्षश्चिनोति, वृक्षदृष्टीकते, वृक्षदृष्टीकते, वृक्षस्तरति, वृक्षस्तरति ॥

By VIII. 3. 15, the र् was changed to visarga before a hard consonant, or at the end of a Pause. In the present sūtra, no special cause being mentioned, the स् change would take place, not only before a hard consonant, but at the Pause also, i. e. in वृक्षः, वृक्षः also. This however, is not the case, because the word संहितायाम् governs this sūtra ; so the स् change will be in Sanhitā only, and not in Pause, moreover we read the anuvṛtti of खरि here and so prevent the स् change in Pause.

शर्परे विसर्जनीयः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्परे, विसर्जनीयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्परे खरि परतो विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

35. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (**खर**) which itself is followed by a sibilant (**शर**) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् ॥ In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus शब्दाः क्षुरम्, पुरुषः क्षुरम्, अङ्गिः प्लाताम्, वासः क्षौमम्, पुरुषः स्वरुः, घनाघनः क्षौमणश्चर्दणीनाम् ॥

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न ; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvāmuliya and upadh-māniya changes also do not take place, in cases like अङ्गिः प्लाताम्, वासः क्षौमम् ॥

वा शरि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शरि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयादेशो वा भवति शरि परे ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ खर्परेशरि वा लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As वृक्षः रोते or वृक्षश्चेते, हृक्षः रोते or हृक्षश्चेते, वृक्षः षण्डे or वृक्षष्यण्डे, वृक्षः साये or वृक्षस्ताये ॥ Cf. VIII. 4. 40, 41, for श् and ष् ॥

Vart.—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As वृक्षा स्थातारः or वृक्षाः स्थातारः or वृक्षास्तथातारः ॥

कुप्पोऽकःपौ च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुप्पोऽकःपौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गपवर्गयोः परतो विसर्जनीयस्य यथासंख्यऽकःप इत्यतावादिसौ भवतः ॥

37. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

Thus वृक्ष × करोति or वृक्षः करोति, वृक्ष × खनति or वृक्षः खनति, वृक्ष × पचति or वृक्षः पचति, वृक्ष × फलति or वृक्षः फलति ॥ The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvamûliya and the Upadhmâniya : two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

When the rule VIII. 3. 34. does not apply, then this sūtra will apply ; and will debar that. But VIII. 3. 35. will not be debarred. As वासः क्षौमम्, अङ्गिः स्नातम् ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35. and 37, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other. (VIII. 2. 1). In fact, every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two :—(1) कुप्पोः “The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant.” (2) × क × पौच The jihvamûliya and upadhmâniya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case.”

सोपदादौ ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अ-पदादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकार आदेशो भवति विसर्जनीयस्य कुप्पोरपदादौः परतः पाशकल्पककाम्येषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सोपदादावित्यनव्ययस्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥ शेरिव काम्ये नान्यस्येति नियमार्थं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपध्मानीयस्य कवर्ग परतः सकार आदेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

38 स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपदादौ means “when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a word,” in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix. This is possible only before the affixes पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus पयस्पाशम् (V. 3. 47); पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3. 67), पयस्कं, यशस्कम्, (V. 3. 70); पयस्काम्यति, यशस्काम्यति (III. 1. 9).

Why do we say ‘when not at the beginning of a word’? Observe पयः काम्यते, पयःपिबति ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable : as, प्रातः कल्पम्, पुनः कल्पम् ॥

Vart:—The visarga which comes from **ह** is only changed to **स** before **काम्य**, and not any other visarga. As **पयस्काम्यात्**, and, **यशस्काम्यति** ; but not here, **गीःकाम्यति धूःकाम्यति** ॥

Vart:—**स** is the substitute of the Upadhmaniya when followed by a guttural. The root **उञ्ज्** (आजवे Tud 20) has Upadhmaniya as its penultimate : though it is written in the Dhātupāṭha as **उञ्ज** the **ञ्** only represents the **प** of **उञ्प**, and is not to be pronounced. This **उञ्प** is changed to **स**, when the final **ञ्** is changed to a guttural, as **उञ् स ग**, and then this **स** is changed to **ह**, as in **अभ्युदगः**, **समुद्रः** ॥

These words, however, may be derived from the root **गम्** with the Prepositions **अभि**, **उत्**, and **सम्** **उत्**, by adding the affix **इ** ॥

इणः पः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, पः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपशशाबिति वर्त्तते । इण उत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकारादेशो भवति कुष्ठोरपशयोः परतः पाशकल्पकाम्येषु ॥

39. **ष्** is the substitute of that visarga, which is preceded by **इ** or **उ** and is followed by an affix beginning with a hard guttural or a labial.

The word **अपशशौ** is understood here also. The affixes meant are the same **पाश**, **कल्प**, **क**, and **काम्य** ॥ Thus **सर्पिष्पाशम्**, **यजुष्पाशम्**, **सर्पिष्कल्पम्**, **यजुष्कल्पम्**, **सर्पिष्कम्**, **यजुष्कम्** ; **सर्पिष्काम्यति**, **यजुष्काम्यति** ॥

Why do we say 'by an affix'? Observe **अग्निः करोति**, **वायुः करोति**, **अग्निः पचति**, **वायुः पचति** ॥

The affix should begin with a guttural or a labial. Therefore not here, **सर्पिस्ते**, **यजुस्ते** ॥

In the succeeding sūtras, the anuvṛitti of **स** from VIII. 3. 39 and of **इणः पः** from this, are both current. The visarga will be changed to **ष्** if preceded by **इ** or **उ**, otherwise it will be **स** ॥

According to some, this sūtra ordains **ष्** in the room of the **स्** taught in the preceding sūtra, and not of visarga : and so also in the following sūtras.

नमस्पुरसोर्गत्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-पुरसोः, गत्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस्पुरस् इत्येतयोर्गतिसंज्ञकयो विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति कुष्ठोः परतः ॥

40. For the visarga of **नमस्** and **पुरस्**, there is substituted **ष्** before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74).

Thus **नमस्कर्त्ता**, **नमस्कर्तुम्**, **नमस्कर्त्तव्यम्** ; **पुरस्कर्त्ता**, **पुरस्कर्तुम्**, **पुरस्कर्त्तव्यम्** ॥

Why do we say "when they are Gati"? Observe **पूः करोति**, **पुरी करोति**, **पुरः करोति** ॥ Here **पुरः** is a noun, Accusative Plural of **पूः** ॥

नमस् is Gati by I. 4. 74, and **पुरस्** is Gati by I. 4. 67. The anuvṛitti of **अपशशौ** ceases.

इतुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इद्-उद्-उपधस्य, च, अ-प्रत्यस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोपधस्य उकारोपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य विसर्जनीयस्य पकार आदेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुम्बुहोःप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

41. *च्* is substituted, before a hard guttural or a labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, दुर्, बहिर्, अविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥
Thus निष्कृतम्, निष्पीतम्, दुष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, बहिस्, बहिष्कृतम्, बहिष्पीतम्, आविस्, आविष्कृतम्, आविष्पीतम्, चतुष्कृतम्, चतुष्कपालम्, चतुष्कन्दलम्, चतुष्कलम्, प्रादुष्कृतम्, प्रादुष्पीतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः करोति, पितुः करोति? For here in पितुः &c, the स् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the र् of पितुर्+स् is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to च् ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भ्रातृषुचः in Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48) indicates by implication, that च् change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c: the only exception being भ्रातुः ॥ The reason of this may be that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekādeśa उ (VI. 1. 111).

Vārt.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of पुम् and मुहुस्; as पुंस्काया, मुहुंस्काया ॥

Vārt.—वृद्धिभूतानां षत्वं वक्तव्यम् । The visarga is changed to च् even when इ or उ are vṛddhied; as नैष्कुल्यम्, शौष्कुल्यम् ॥

Vārt.—प्लुतानां तादौ च् ॥ The visarga is changed to च् even when इ or उ are pluta, and then before dentals as well as gutturals and labials. Thus निष्कुलम्, दुष्कुलम् (VIII. 2. 86 for pluta). दुश्चरुषः, वशीश्चरः ॥

These last two vārtikas may be dispensed with, because Vṛddhi and Pluta are Bahiranga change, and so the visarga will be changed to च् in these cases also by the sūtra itself; except so far as त्त is concerned.

तिरसोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरस्ः, अन्यरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरसो विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां सकारादेशो भवति कुप्पोः परतः ॥

42. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स् before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्त्ता, तिरस्कर्तुम्, तिरस्कर्त्तव्यम्, or तिरः कर्त्ता, तिरः कर्तुम्, तिरः कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ The word गतिः is understood here also. Therefore no option is allowed here, तिरः कृत्वा काण्डं गतः, where तिरस् does not mean 'disappearance'. (I. 4. 72).

द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति कृत्वर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विः-त्रिः-चतुर्, इति, कृत्वर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च इति संबद्धते । द्विस् त्रिस् चतुर् इत्येतेषां कृत्वर्थे वर्त्तमानानां विसर्जनीयस्य पकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां कुप्पोः परतः ॥

43. **ए** is optionally the substitute of the visargas of **द्विस्**, **त्रिस्** and **चतुर्** when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix **सुच्** (**स्**) is added to the three words **dvi**, **tri** and **chatur** in the sense of **kṛtvasuch** by V. 4. 18.

As **द्विः करोति** or **द्विष्करोति**, **त्रिः करोति** or **त्रिष्करोति**, **चतुः करोति** or **चतुष्करोति**, **द्विः पचति** or **द्विष्पचति**, **त्रिः पचति** or **त्रिष्पचति**, **चतुः पचति** or **चतुष्पचति** ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of **kṛtvasuch** or Numeral adverbs'? Observe **चतुष्कपालम्**, **चतुष्कण्डकम्**, where **ए** is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. **चतुर्षु कपालेषु संस्कृतः** (IV. 2. 16 and IV. 1. 88). This sūtra is an example of **ubhayatra-vibhāṣhā**. With regard to **चतुर्** the visarga is a non-affix visarga, and hence VIII. 3. 41, would have made **ए** compulsory, this makes it optional. With regard to **द्विस्** and **त्रिस्** the visarga is that of an affix (**सुच्** or **स्** V. 4. 18), and hence VIII. 3. 41, would not have applied. Thus with regard to **चतुर्** it is a **Prāpta-vibhāṣhā**, and with regard to **द्विस्** and **त्रिस्** it is an **Aprāpta-vibhāṣhā**.

Why have we used the words '**dvis**, **tris** and **chatur**'? Objector's answer: so that the rule may not apply to **पञ्चकृत्वः करोति**, the visarga of **kṛtvasuch** (V. 4. 17) is not changed to **ए** ॥

The **anuvṛtti** of **इ** and **उ** is understood here from VIII. 3. 41: so that the visarga must be preceded by **इ** and **उ** for the application of this rule. In **पञ्चकृत्वः** the visarga is preceded by **अ**, and so there is no applicability of this rule.

In fact, by reading the **anuvṛtti** of **इदुदुपधा** into this sūtra, and qualifying the visarga by the further epithet of 'belonging to a *word* that has the sense of **kṛtvasuch**'; we may dispense with the words **द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति** from the sūtra. The simple sūtra **कृत्वोर्ये** would have been enough. For there are no other Numerals that have a penultimate **इ** or **उ**, except these three. The chief objection to this view is, that in **चतुर्** the visarga is not the *affix* **सुच्**, but a portion of the word (See V. 4. 18): so the rule would not apply to **chatur**, if this word were not expressly mentioned.

The various objections and their solutions are given in the following verses.

कृत्वसुजये पत्वं ब्रवीति कस्माच्चतुष्कपाल मा
 पत्वं विनापया भुञ्जतु सिद्धे तत्र पूर्वैण ॥
 सिद्धे ह्ययं विधत्ते चतुरः पत्वं यवापि कृत्वोर्ये ॥
 लुप्ते कृत्वोर्धीये रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥
 एवं सति त्विदानीं द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् ॥
 अन्ये हि नेदुदुपधः कृत्वोर्धः कश्चिदप्यास्ति ॥
 अक्रियमाणे ग्रहणे विसर्जनीयस्तदा विशेष्येत ॥

चतुरो न सिध्यति तथा रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥

तस्मिंस्तु क्रियमाणे युक्ते चतुरो विशेषणं भवति ॥

प्रकृतं परं तदन्तं तस्यापि विशेषणं न्याय्यम् ॥

Kārikā :—कृत्वयुज्ये पत्वं ब्रवीति कस्मात् ? Why does the author teach पत्वं when these words have the sense of Numeral-adverbs? In other words, why the word कृत्वोऽर्थे is used at all in the sūtra? There is no necessity of using it at all, because द्विस्, त्रिस् are clearly adverbs as they are formed by the affix सुच् (V. 4. 18) and चतुर् being read in their company will also denote the adverb chatur, in which सुच् has been elided (V. 4. 18). So that all these three words are सुच्-formed, and all सुच्-formed words have the sense of Kṛtvasuch. One answer to this is that the rule of साहचर्य does not always hold good, as in दीधीवेदीदाम् (I. 1.6), the words दीधी and वेदी are verbs, while इद् is an augment. Though therefore द्विस् and त्रिस् are kṛtvortha words, yet चतुर् need not be so: and may be a simple Numeral. *Ans.* चतुष्कपाले ना पत्वं विभाषया भूत् ॥ The word कृत्वोऽर्थे is employed to indicate that there should be no optional पत्वं in चतुष्कपाले ॥ The पत्वं here is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. *Q.* ननु सिद्धं तच्च पूर्वम् ॥ Well this would be valid by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 41). That is, let in चतुष्कपाल also there be optional पत्वं, as चतुःकपाल and चतुष्कपाल ॥ Now rule VIII. 3. 41 will apply to चतुःकपाल and will change this visarga to ष, so that with regard to चतुष्कपाल, we shall have always ष ॥ *Ans.* सिद्धे ह्ययं विधत्ते चतुः पत्वं यदापि कृत्वोऽर्थे, लुप्ते कृत्वोऽर्थीये रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि । If VIII. 3. 41 be considered as applying here (siddha), then when the affix सुच् is elided after चतुर्, and the र is changed to visarga, then the adverb चतुः also ends with a non-affix visarga, and will come under the compulsory पत्वं rule of VIII. 3. 41; for though we may have optionally two forms as चतुः करोति and चतुष्करोति, by the present sūtra, yet in the former the visarga would be changed to ष by VIII. 3. 41. Hence the necessity of employing the word कृत्वोऽर्थे ॥ *Q.* But we say that the र in the adverb चतुर् is that of सुच्, thus चतुर्+स्=चतुर्+र (VIII. 2. 66)=चतु+र (the first र is elided by VIII. 3. 14)=चतुर्; and that this र when changed to visarga, will be an affix-visarga and so VIII. 3. 41 will not apply to the adverb चतुर् ॥ *Ans.* No. For उ would require to be lengthened by VI. 3. 111. and the form would be चतूर् ॥

एवं सति सिद्धानीं द्वित्रिचतुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् ॥ If this be so, then what is the purpose served by using the words द्विस् त्रिश्चतुरिति in the aphorism? The simple sūtra कृत्वोऽर्थे would have been enough. Because (अन्योहि नेदुदुपधः कृत्वोऽर्थः कश्चिदप्यस्ति) there are no other numeral adverbs than these three which have a penultimate इ or उ ॥

अक्रियमाणे ग्रहणे विसर्जनीयस्तदा विशेष्येत । If we do not use the words द्विस्, त्रिस्, chaturiti in the sūtra, then the word kṛtvortha would qualify the word visarga, and the sūtra would mean "the visarga of an affix which has the sense of kṛtvasuch is changed optionally to ष" ॥ The result of this will be

that (चतुरो न सिध्यति तयारेकस्य विसर्जनयोहि) it will not apply to चतुः where the visarga is that of र् and not of the affix सुच् ॥

Therefore by using dvis &c, the word कृत्वोऽर्थे would qualify चतुर (तस्मिन् तु क्रियमाणे युक्तं चतुरो विशेषणं भवति) ॥

Ans.—प्रकृतं परं तदन्तं तस्यापि, विशेषणं नाप्यम् ॥ Though we may not use dvis &c, the word कृत्वोऽर्थे will not qualify visarga, but will qualify the word पद् whose context runs here; and the rule of तदन्त will apply; so that the sūtra कृत्वोऽर्थे will mean, पदस्य कृत्वोऽर्थे वर्तमानस्य यो विसर्जनीयः, तस्य सकारः पकारो व ॥ "The visarga of that word which is employed in the sense of a Numeral adverb, is optionally changed to स् or ष before a guttural or a labial, provided that such visarga is preceded by इ or उ".

The above is the opinion of Patanjali, who considers the words dvis &c, as redundant. The Kāśikā however controverts this opinion. According to him, if these words were not used in the sūtra, then the mere sūtra कृत्वोऽर्थे would be insufficient for the visarga of चतुः though used as an adverb, the पदम् will be compulsory by VIII.3.41; for the present sūtra will be considered as asiddha or non-existent for the purposes of VIII. 3. 41, (See VIII. 2. 1). But this however may be answered by saying that the rule of पूर्ववृत्तिश्च applies in these chapters, with this modification, one subject-matter is considered as asiddha with regard to another subject-matter gone before; but one aphorism is not considered asiddha with regard to a previous aphorism, when belonging to the same subject matter. (प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः) ॥ Therefore the present sūtra VIII. 3. 43, would not be considered asiddha with regard to VIII. 3. 41. Or the present sūtra may be considered as an apavāda to VIII. 3. 41: and an apavāda is never asiddha with regard to an utsarga.

इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्-उसोः, सामर्थ्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् उस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां पकारादेशो भवति सामर्थ्ये कुपुः परतः ॥

44. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here. Thus सर्पिष्करोति or सर्पिः करोति, यजुः करोति or यजुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when the two words are correlated'? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब स्वपुङ्कम्, where सर्पिः is not in construction with पिब, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्ये here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words; and not "having the same meaning", or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्ये is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean 'compound'. For it being a पदविधिः the word समर्थः is

understood here (समर्थः पदविधिः II. I. I). The employment of the word सामर्थ्य here indicates that it is a different sāmārthya from that of II. I. I. It does not denote एकार्थभावः or ऐकार्थ्य which is the sāmārthya of compounds where two or more words denote one object. The sāmārthya here means vyapekshā, which is thus defined नानाभूतयोः पदार्थयो र्यौ शब्दौ वर्त्तन्ते, तयो र्यौ योगः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas".

नित्यं समासे ऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, समासे, अनुत्तर पदस्थस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इमुसोरिति वर्त्तते । समासविषये इमुसोर्विसर्जनीयस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं पत्वं भवति कुपुः परतः ॥

45. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष् in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The words इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, धनुष्कपालम्, सर्पिष्पानम्, धनुष्फलम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका, परमधनुः कपालम् ॥ The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples.

Q.—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सर्प् by adding the Uṇādi affix इत्ति (Uṇ II. 109), and यजुस् by the Uṇādi affix उत्ति (Uṇ II. 117), therefore on the maxim प्रत्ययग्रहणे &c, the word इमुसोः would denote the mere forms सर्पिन् and यजुस् and not forms like परमसर्पिस् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sūtra?

The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sūtra, is an indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस् : प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदो-स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself". This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्पिष्करोति or परमसर्पिः करोति by the previous sūtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra?

Ans :—Because the word सामर्थ्य there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, कृ-कमि-कंस-कुम्भ-पात्र-कुशा-कर्णीषु, अन्-अव्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारादनुत्तरस्य अनव्ययविसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं सकारोदेशो भवति कृ कमि कंस कुम्भ पात्र कुशा कर्णी इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

46. For the visarga of a word ending in अस, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृः—अयस्कारः, पयस्कारः (III. 2. 1) कम्—अयस्कामः, पयस्कामः, कंसः—अयस्कंसः, पयस्कंसः, कुम्भः—अयस्कुम्भः, पयस्कुम्भः ॥ So also अयस्कृम्भी पयस्कृम्भी, on the maxim प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवति ॥ पात्रः—अयस्पात्रम्, पयस्पात्रम्, अयस्पात्री, पयस्पात्री ॥ कुशाः—अयस्कृशा, पयस्कृशा ॥ कर्णीः—अयस्कृणी, पयस्कृणी ॥ The form शुनस्कृणः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48).

Why do we say अतः “a visarga preceded by short अ, or the visarga of the word ending in अः”? See गीःकारः, धूःकारः ॥ Why do we say ‘preceded by short अ’? Observe भाःकरणम् ॥ The form भास्कारः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48). See also III. 2. 2.

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe दवःकारः, पुनःकारः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; यशः करोति पयः करोति, यशः कामयते ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्यस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमपयः कारः, परमपयः कामः ॥

Q. The word कंस need not have been taken, because it is a form of the root कम्, since it is derived from कम् by adding the Uṇādi affix स (III. 62 Uṇ)?

Ans.—The employment of कंस indicates the existence of the following maxim :—उणादयोऽन्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि “Words which end with उण् &c. are crude-forms that do not undergo or cause such operations as would depend on their etymological formation.”

अधः शिरसी पदे ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ अधः-शिरसी, पदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधस् शिरस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्यस्य सकार आदेशो भवति पदशब्दे परतः ॥

47. For the visarga of अधस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अधस्पदम्, शिरस्पदम् ॥ अधस्पदी, शिरस्पदी ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अधः पदम् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्यस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पदम् ॥

The word अधस्पदम् is a compound formed under Mayūravyaṅsa-kādi class.

कस्कादिषु च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्कादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्क इत्येवमादिषु च विसर्जनीयस्य सकारः पकारो वा यथायोगमादेशो भवति कुपुः परतः ॥

48. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavāda to Sūtra VIII. 3. 37. ष् is substituted after इ or उ, and स् everywhere else. Thus कस्कः, 2. कौतस्तुतः (with कृत् of कृत आगतः). 3. आतुष्पुत्रः (VI. 3. 23) 4. शुनस्कर्णः (VI. 3. 21) 5. सद्यस्कालः; 6. सद्यस्की (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix विवप्, because it belongs to Sampadādi class.) 7. साद्यस्कः (from सद्यस्की in the sense of तत्रभवः कृतः). 8. कास्कान् (the ह is by VIII. 3. 12). 9. सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, 10. चतुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. बर्हिष्पूलम्, 13. यक्षुष्पाचम् ॥ "The words 9 to 13 are exceptions to VIII. 3. 45, so that there might be ष, even when सर्पिस् &c are preceded by another word. Thus परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका ॥ The counter-example then to VIII. 3. 45 will be परमसर्पिः फलम् ॥" This is the opinion of the Pārāyanikās. But in the Mahābhāṣya, the counter-example under VIII. 3. 45 is परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका ॥ Another reason why these words are listed here, is that ष change will take place, even where there is no correlation or vyapekshā. As तिष्ठतु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकां जानय ॥ So also when there is correlation, as इदं सर्पिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ Here सर्पिस् is an incomplete word. The ष change, will take place even where there is no compounding. Where there is no compounding, and there is complete want of correlation, even there the ष will invariably come. And where there is correlation, but no compounding there the ष would have been optional by VIII. 3. 44, but it becomes invariable here, on account of these words being so listed. Thus we have these cases : (1) Without correlation, as तिष्ठतु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकामानय ॥ (2) Where there is correlation, as इदं सर्पिष्कुण्डिकायाः ॥ (3) Where there is composition, as सर्पिष्कुण्डिका ॥ (4) Where there is no composition and no correlation even, as, in example (1). (5) Where there is correlation but no compounding as in example (2). In all these cases there is ष invariably in case of these words. 14. मयस्काण्डः, 15. मेदस्पिण्डः ॥ अविहितलक्षण उपचारः कस्कादिषु द्रष्टव्यः ।

Every change of visarga to स or ष, must be referred to Kaskādi class, if not governed by any other rule. Thus this is an Akṛtigāṇa. Upachāra is the name of स and ष which replace the visarga.

The Pārāyaṇa is of two sorts, Dhātu-Par, and Nāma-Par. Those who devote themselves in committing to memory and reciting these are Pārāyanikas.

छन्दसि वाऽप्राप्नेडितयोः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वा, अ-प्र-आप्नेडितयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्सि विषये विसर्जनीयस्य वा सकारादेशो भवति कुपुः परतः प्रसङ्गं प्राप्नेडितं वर्जयित्वा ॥

49. स may optionally be substituted for the

visarga before a hard guttural and labial, in the Chhandas; but neither before प्र, nor before a doubled word.

Thus अयः पाचम् or अयस्पाचम् ॥ This is an example of non-compounds. In compounds, the स change is compulsory by VIII. 3. 46: because the option of the present sutra is asiddha there, and it finds its scope in cases other than compounds. If the maxim प्रकरणे प्रकरणसिद्धं न योगे योगः be applied, then the two sutras VIII. 3. 46 and VIII. 3. 49 belong to the same प्रकरणं and one is not asiddha with regard to the other. Then we could give examples of compounds also under this sutra: but then such compounds will also be governed by VIII. 3. 46, and so the स would be compulsory.

विश्वत्स्पाचम् or विश्वतः पाचम्, here the word विश्वतः is an Indeclinable and hence the rule VIII. 3. 46, does not apply to it. उरु णः कारः or उरु ण स्कारः ॥ Here नस् is substituted for अस्, and then the न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27. The word कारः is a घञ् formed word.

Why do we say "not before प्र and a doubled word"? Observe अग्निः प्र विह्वान् (Av. V. 26. 1), पुरुषः पुरुषः परि ॥

In सूर्यदिग्दर्शिकेशः पुरस्तात् (Rig. X. 139. 1), स नः पावकः (Rig. I. 12. 10), the स change has not taken place, as all rules are optional in the Vedas.

कः करत्करतिकृधिकृतेष्वनदितेः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कः-करत्-करति-कृधि-कृतेषु, अन्-अदितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कः करत् करात् कृधि कृत इत्येतेषु परतः अनदितेर्विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

50. The visarga is changed to स् in the Chhandas, before कः, करत्, करात्, कृधि and कृतः but not so the visarga of अदितिः ॥

Thus विश्वत्स्कः ॥ कः is the Aorist of कृ, the णि has been elided by II. 4. 80: the क् of कृ is gunated before the affix तिप्, thus we have करत्, the त् is elided by VI. 1. 68; and the augment अद् is not added by VI. 4. 75. Similarly विश्वत्स्करत् ॥ Here also करत् is the Aorist of कृ, with अद् by III. 1. 59. पयस्करति, here करात् is the लट् of कृ; णप् is added instead of ड, as a Vedic anomaly. उरणस्कृधि, here कृधि is the Imperative of कृ, the सि is changed to हि, the vikaraṇa is elided, and हि changed to धि by VI. 4. 102. See VIII. 4. 27, for the change of न to ण ॥ सदस्कृतम्, here कृतम् is Past Participle of कृ ॥

Why do we say 'but not of अदितिः'? Observe यथा नो अदितिः करन् (Rig. I. 43. 2).

पञ्चम्याः परावध्यर्थे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, परौ, अध्यर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसित्वेव । पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति परौ परतः अध्यर्थे ॥

51. The visarga of the Ablative case is changed to स् before परि meaning 'over'.

The word Chhandas is understood here also. Thus दिवस्परि प्रथमं जज्ञे (Rig X. 45. 1) अग्निर्हिमवतस्परि ॥ दिवस्परि, महस्परि ॥

Why do we say 'of the Ablative'? Observe अहिरिव भोगैः पर्येति बाहुम् ॥ Why do we say "before परि"? See एभ्योवा एतल्लोकेभ्यः प्रजापतिः समैरयत् ॥ Why do we say 'when परि means 'over'? See दिवः पृथिव्याः प्रयोज उद्भूतम् (Rig. VI. 47. 27). Here परि has the sense of "on all sides".

पातौ च बहुलम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पातौ, च बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पातौ च पातौ परतः पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य बहुलं सकार आदेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

52. स may diversely be substituted for the visarga of the Ablative before the verb पातु in the Chhandas.

Thus दिवस्पातु, राक्षस्पातु ॥ Sometimes, the change does not take place, as परिषदः पात ॥

षष्ठ्याः पतिपुत्रपृष्ठपारपदपयस्पोषेषु ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः-पति-पुत्र-पृष्ठ-पार-पद पयस्-पोषेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्यसकारादेशो भवति पति पुत्र पृष्ठ पार पद पयस् पोष इत्येतेषु परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥

53. For the visarga of the Genitive, there is substituted स् in the Vedas, before पति, पुत्र, पृष्ठ, पार, पद, पयस्, and पोष ॥

Thus वाचस्पतिं विद्वकर्माणमूतये, (Rig. x. 81. 7), दिवस्पृष्टाय सूर्याय, दिवस्पृष्टे धावमानं सुपर्णम्, अगन्म, समसस्पास्म, इडस्पवे समिध्यसे, सूर्यं चक्षु दिवस्पयः, रायस्पोषं यजमानेषु धत्तम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a genitive case'? See मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो शयं व्यमजत् ॥

इडाया वा ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडायाः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडायाः षष्ठीविसर्जनीयस्य वा सकार आदेशो भवति पत्यादिषु परतःछन्दसि विषये ॥

54. स is optionally substituted for the visarga of इडायाः, before पति &c, (VIII. 3. 53.) in the Chhandas.

Thus इडायाः पतिः or इडायास्पतिः इडायास्पुत्तः । इडायाः पुत्तः । इडायास्पृष्टम् । इडायाः पृष्टम् । इडाया स्पास्म, इडायाः पास्म । इडायास्पदम् । इडायाः पदम् । इडायास्पयः । इडायाः पयः । इडायाः पोषम् । इडायास्पोषम् ॥

अपदान्तस्य मूर्धन्यः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-पदान्तस्य, मूर्धन्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तस्येति मूर्धन्य इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । आपादपरिसमाप्तेः ॥

55. Upto the end of the Pāda, is throughout to be supplied the following: "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of ———, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word".

Here ceases the Padādhikāra which commenced with VIII. 1. 16. The two words अपदान्तस्य 'not final in a pada', and मूर्धन्यः 'cerebral' exert a governing influence on all sūtras upto the end of this chapter. Thus VIII. 3. 59, teaches "of an affix and a substitute". The whole of the present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense: i. e. "a cerebral sound is substituted always in the room of the स of an affix and of the स which is a substitute, when it does not stand at the end of a word'. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप, आग्रिपु, वायुपु ॥

Why do we say 'not final'? See अग्रिस्तत्र, वायुस्तत्र ॥ Though the अनुवृत्ति of ए was understood here, yet the employment of the word 'cerebral' is for the sake of ङ; as अकृद्भ्रम, चकृद्भ्र (VIII. 3. 78).

सहेः साढः सः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः, साढः, सः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेर्द्रातोः साङ्गूपस्य यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

56. ए is substituted for the स् in साह, when this occurs in the form of साङ् (साह) ॥

Thus जलापाद्, तुरापाद्, पृतनापाद् ॥ साङ् is derived from सह by the affix ण्वि (III. 2. 63), there is वृद्धि of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ङ (VIII. 2. 31), and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137).

साङ् सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साङ् except this derived from सह; why then the word सहेः is used in the sūtra? There is another form साङ् not derived from सह ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्त्तते = सङः, सङस्य अपत्यं = साङिः ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ङ is called सङ; as मृङ ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साङ्'? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलासाहम्, तुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः "for the स"? So that the आ of साङ् may not be changed to cerebral: the ङ is already cerebral.

इण्कोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण् कोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण्कोः स्थितवधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः इणः कवर्णाद्येभ्यो तद्वेदितव्यम् ।

57. From this, upto the end of the chapter, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following:—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes".

The word इण is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels र् is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation. कु means the letters of the क class. Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप, अग्रिपु, वायुपु, कर्तृपु, हर्तृपु, गीर्तृ, धूर्तृ, वाक्षु, स्वक्षु ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by इण् or कु"? Observe दास्यति, असौ ॥ Here the affix स of स्यति, and the substitute स in असौ (VII. 2. 106) are not changed to ए ॥

नुम्बिसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेपि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुम्, विसर्जनीय-शर्व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नुम्ब्यवायेपि विसर्जनीयव्यवायेपि शर्व्यवायेपि इष्कोरुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

58. The substitution of ष् for स् takes place then also, when the augment न् (नुम्), the visarjaniya or a sibilant occurs between the said इष् and कु letters or the स् ॥

The word व्यवाय 'separation, intervention' applies to every one of the words नुम्, &c. Thus (1) when नुम् intervenes, as सर्षांषि, यज्ञांषि, हवींषि (VII. 1. 72, VI. 4. 10). (2) When a visarjaniya intervenes, as सर्षिःषु, यज्ञाःषु, हविःषु (VIII. 3. 36) (3) When a Sibilant intervenes, as सर्षिण्यु, यज्ञण्यु हविण्यु ॥

The षत्व takes place, when नुम् &c intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here, निस्से, निस्से from the root निस् 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, नुम् and स् (III. 4. 91).

The word इष्कोः is in the Ablative case, and it required that the स् should follow *immediately* after it. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra for the intervention of certain letters.

आदेशप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेश, प्रत्यययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशो यः सकारः प्रत्ययस्य च यः सकार इष्कोरुत्तरस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

59. ष् is substituted for that स् which is a substitute (of the ष् of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64), or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58), of being preceded by an इष् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स ॥ The sūtra ādeśa-pratyayoḥ is in the Genitive case. The force of the Genitive however is different in the word ādeśa, from what it is in pratyaya. In the first it is samānādhikaraṇa-shashṭhi, in the latter avayava-yogāshashṭhi. That is that स् which is an ādeśa, and that स् which belongs to an affix. If we took it as avayavayogā shashṭhi in both places, then the sūtra would mean "of that स् which is a portion of a substitute, or of an affix," and there would arise the following anomaly. In doubling a word by VIII. 1. 1, one view is that two are *substituted* in the room of one (See VIII. 1. 1). Thus विसंविस्, हुसलंहुसलं ॥ Here the स् in these words, is a *portion* of a substitute, and would be changed to ष्, if we translate the sūtra as above.

If we take the other view, and translate the sūtra as "of that स् which is a substitute or an affix", we land on the following anomaly. We must have forms like कारस्यति and हरिस्यति, and not the correct forms करिष्यति, हरिष्यति ;

for here स is not an affix, but a *portion* of an affix. In fact, with regard to affixes, the sūtra would be confined to those affixes only which consist of a single स्, such as सिप् in the Vedic subjunctive लेद् ॥ That this is the proper interpretation of the sūtra is indicated by the sūtra VIII. 3. 60, (the next aphorism). The substitute घस् is taken in this sūtra. If therefore, the force of Genitive in आदेशस्य was=आदेशस्य यः सकारः and not=आदेशः यः सकारः, then there would have been no necessity of including the substitute घस् in the sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of घस् also. Similarly, if the force of the Genitive in प्रत्ययस्य was=प्रत्ययः यः सकारः, and not=प्रत्ययस्यः यः सकारः; then there would have been no necessity of excluding the affix सान् (V. 4. 52) from the operation of the present rule by VIII. 3. 111, because it is not an affix consisting of a single letter स् ॥

Having surmised this, we shall now give illustrations. First of that स् which is a substitute. It can only be the स् which replaces the ष् of a root in Dhātupāṭha. Thus सिषेव, सुव्याप ॥ Of an affix, we have अग्निषु, वायुषु, कर्तृषु, हर्तृषु; यक्षन् in इन्द्रो मा यक्षन्; and यक्षन् in स देवान् यक्षन् ॥

Q.—In the case of यक्षन् and यक्षन्, the स् is not the *portion* of an affix, but the *whole* affix itself: the present sūtra should therefore not apply to this स् ॥

Ans.—Here we apply the maxim व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन् ॥

These words (यक्षन् and यक्षन्) are from the roots वच् and यञ्, in लेद् with तिप्, the इ is elided by III. 4. 97, the augment अद् (III. 4. 94), the affix सिप् by III. 1. 34; the च् of वच् is changed to a guttural, and the ज् of यञ् to ष् and then to a guttural.

The Uṇādi word अक्षरं (अच् + सर Uṇ III. 70) complies with this rule, but not so the word कृसरं and धूसरं (Uṇ III. 73) formed with the same affix सर ॥

शासिबसिघसीनांच ॥६०॥ पदानि ॥ शासि-वासि- घसीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शासि वसि घसि इत्येतेषां च इष्कोरुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्धन्यो भवति ॥

60. ष् is substituted for the स् of शास्, वस् and घस् when it is preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

Thus अन्वशिषन्, अन्वशिषताम्, अन्वशिषन्, the Aorist of शास्; the च् is replaced by अद् (III. 1. 56), and the आ changed to इ by VI. 4. 34. So also शिष्टः, शिष्टवान् ॥ From वस् we have उषितः, उषितवान्, उषित्वा ॥ The Samprasāraṇa takes place by VI. 1. 15 as it belongs to yajādi class. From घस् we have जक्षतुः, जक्षुः in the Perfect. घस् is the substitute of अद् (II. 4. 40), the penultimate अ is elided by VI. 4. 98. So also यक्षन् in अक्षत्रमीमवन्त पितरः (Rig. I. 82. 2). This is the Aorist form of अद्, the घस् is substituted for अद् (II. 4. 37): the Aorist sign is elided by II. 4. 80.

This sūtra is made to cover cases not governed by the last sūtra, namely, where the स् is not an âdeśa. Though the स् in वस् is the स् of a substitute, yet it is not governed by the preceding aphorism, because the word आदेशस्य there means 'the स् which is a substitute'. Here स् is not a substitute, but a portion of a substitute. The non-substitute, वस् is not to be taken here : as it seldom occurs.

The word इष्कोः is understood here also. Therefore the rule would not apply to शास्ति, वसति and जयास् ॥

स्तौतिष्योरेव वण्यभ्यासात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तौति-ष्योः, एव, षणि, अभ्यासात् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ स्तौतिष्यन्तानां च वण्यभूते सति परतः अभ्यासादिण उत्तरस्य आदेशसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

61. स् is substituted for स after इ or उ in the reduplication of a Desiderative, if the स of सन् is changed to ष् ; but only in स्तु and in Causative of roots which in Dhātupāṭha begin with a ष् ॥

This rule is confined to the Desideratives of स्तु and of स् beginning roots in the Causative, provided that the Desiderative sign स् is changed to ष् ॥ The rule applies to the स् of the substitute, and not to the affix स् as there can be no such स् after a reduplicate syllable. Therefore स् means that स् which replaces the ष् of the roots.

Thus from स्तु we have तुष्टुवति ॥ Here the स of सन् is changed to ष by the last sūtra, and therefore so also after the reduplicate उ, the स of स्तु is changed to ष ॥

Of the Causatives of roots beginning with ष् in Dhātupāṭha, we have सिषेवयिषति, सिषिञ्जयिषति, मुष्पाययिषति ॥ In this last, the ष् is changed to उ by VII. 4. 67.

Though this ष change would have taken place by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 59), yet the separate enunciation of this rule indicates that this is a niyama aphorism—the ष change takes place only in these cases of स्तु and Causatives of Desideratives under the conditions mentioned in this sūtra, and *no where else*. Thus सिषिषति from the root सिषि ऋणे (Tud. 140). This is a root, which is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a ष, therefore the form ought to have been सिषिषति by VIII. 3. 59, but it is not so, because of the niyama of the present sūtra. So also मुष्टुवते from ष्ट् प्राणिप्रसवे (Div. 24) : and मुष्टुवति from ष्ट् प्रेरणे (Tud 115).

If this is a niyama rule by the very fact of its separate enunciation, what is then the necessity of using the word एव in the aphorism ? Ans. इष्टो-ऽवधारणार्थम् ; so that, the sūtra may mean "if स्तु and Causatives *only*, when वण् follows" ? and not "if स्तु and Causatives when वण् *only* follows". In the

latter view, we could not get the form तुष्टाव ; and the rule would have applied to सिद्धिश्च also.

Why do we say "in the Desiderative व्" ? So that the niyama may not be any where else. Had वणि not been used in the sūtra, the restriction would have been with regard to every affix, and the sūtra would have meant "if there is occasion of पल्लव change after a reduplicate, it should take place only in the case of लु and the Causatives". Therefore व change would not have taken place in सिद्धेव, as it is not a Causative.

Q.—को विनतेऽनुरोधः ? Why have we used the word वण् with व्, and not the word सन् ? That is, what compulsion was there to exhibit the Desiderative affix सन्, in this changed form ? The word विनत is the name given in the Prāti-sākyas to व् and ण change.

Ans.—So that the restrictive rule may not apply to the अविनत form of सन् ॥ As सुपुप्सति ॥ The सन् is here कित् by I. 2. 8, and there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15. For had सनि been used in the sūtra, then the restriction would have been with regard to *all* Desideratives in *general*, whether the सन् was changed to व् or not. Therefore as there is restriction of VIII. 3. 59, in the case of सिद्धिश्च where स is not changed to व् ; so there would have been restriction in सुपुप्सते, the स् could not have been changed to व् by VIII. 3. 59. Similarly in तिष्ठासति ॥

Q.—What is the necessity of exhibiting वण् with the anubandha व् ? So that the rule should not apply to व् in general, but to the Desiderative affix व् only. As सुपुपिष इन्द्रम् ॥ This सुपुपिषे is the Perfect of स्वर, the affix यास् is added as Chhandas irregularity instead of यस् ; for यास् there is से, the affix is कित् by I. 2. 5, and so there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15, and reduplication, and the augment इद् is added by VII. 2. 13, the ए is changed to अय, as सुपुपिषय इन्द्रं, the ए is elided by VIII. 3. 19. Here after the reduplicate सु, the स् is changed to व्, in पु by the *general* rule VIII. 3. 59, as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply in this case. But had व् in general been taken, then सुपुपिष has an affix व्, and therefore sūtra VIII. 3. 59, would have been restricted, and there would have been no change of सु to पु after the reduplicate, as it is not a causative. Hence वण् has been employed with an anubandha.

Why do we say 'after a reduplicate' ?

Ans.—So that this restriction may apply to that व् which would have been caused by the इ or उ of an abhyāsa, and not to that which would have been caused by an upasarga. As अभिषिद्धिश्च, though without the Preposition, the form is सिद्धिश्च ॥

Q.—No, this cannot be the reason, because the व् caused by the upasarga is considered as asiddha, and hence there would be no restriction.

Ans.—Then we say, the abhyāsa is taken to be qualified by सन्, namely that abhyāsa which is caused by सन्, would give occasion to this rule and not any other abhyāsa. Therefore if a reduplication has been caused by यङ्, and then षण् is added to it, then the restriction of the present sūtra will not apply, and बल change will take place though the root may not be a Causative &c. Thus the यङ् of स्वप् is सोपुष्य (VI. 1. 19), the Desiderative of this root is सोपुषिषते, with इद् augment, the elision of अ (VI. 4. 48) of य, the elision of य् by VI. 4. 49.

Q.—No this also cannot be the reason: because the बल change is antaranga, while the restriction niyama is Bahiranga. Therefore, the word abhyāsa is employed superfluously in the sūtra.

Ans.—The word abhyāsa is taken in the sūtra, so that the restriction may be with regard to that ष which might have been caused by the इ or उ of the abhyāsa; and not to that ष which might be occasioned by the इ or उ of a dhātu or verbal root. Thus प्रेतिषिषति, अर्धीषिषति ॥ Here the root इ in the sense of बोधन, is turned to Desiderative with सन्; and by VI. 1. 2, the स is reduplicated, then by VII. 4. 79, the अ is changed to इ ॥ Thus इषिस; here by the force of the इ of the abhyāsa सि, the स is changed to ष as इषिष; (VIII. 3. 59) then as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply, the root इ causes the बल of the abhyāsa, as इषिष ॥ Had the word अभ्यासात् not been used in the sūtra, the स of abhyāsa could not have been changed to ष, for then the sūtra would have meant “ष is substituted for स, only in the case of स्तु and Causatives in the Desiderative षण्”; and as इषिष is not a Causative-Desiderative, the restriction would have applied.

सः स्विदिस्वदिसहीनां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, स्विदि-स्वदि-सहीनाम, च ॥ वृत्ति ॥ स्विदि स्विदि सहि इत्येतेषां ण्यन्तानां सनि षभूते परतो ऽभ्यासादुत्तस्य सकारस्य सकापदेशो भवति ॥

62. स is substituted for the स् after the reduplicate of the षण् Desiderative of the Causatives of स्विद्, स्वद्, and सह् ॥

The स substitute of स् debarb the cerebral change. In other words, the स of these roots remains unchanged. As सिस्वेदयिषति, सिस्वायिषति and सिसाहयिषति ॥

प्राक्सिताद्ङ्यवाये ऽपि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्,सितात्, अद्, व्यवाये, अपि ॥ वृत्ति ॥ सेवसितेति वक्ष्यति प्राक्सितसंज्ञादनाद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तच्चाङ्यवायेपि मूर्धन्यो भवति-त्येवं तद्वदितव्यमपिषाद्वनङ्यवायेपि ॥

63. (The substitution of ष for स्, to be taught hereafter, will take place) for all roots upto सित exclusive in

VIII. 3. 70, even when the augment अद् intervenes (between the स and the efficient letter).

The root सिन् occurs in sūtra VIII. 3. 70. Thus VIII. 3. 65 teaches ष change : as अभिषुणोति, परिषुणोति, विषुणोति, निषुणोति ॥ So also when अद् intervenes ; as अभ्यषुणोत्, पर्यषुणोत्, व्यषुणोत्, न्यषुणोत् ॥ The force of अपि is that the change takes place even when the augment अद् does not come, i. e. in cases other than the augment.

स्थादिष्वभ्यासेन चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थादिषु, अभ्यासेन, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक् सितादिति वर्णते ॥ उपसर्गात्सुनोतीत्यत्र स्थासेनयसेधेति स्यादयस्तेषु स्यादिषु प्राक् सितसंशब्दनाद् अभ्यासेन व्यवाये मूर्धन्यो भवत्यभ्याससकारस्य च भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

64. In स्था &c upto सिन् exclusive (VIII. 3. 65 to VIII. 3. 70), this ष substitution takes place then also, when the reduplicate intervenes, and the स of the reduplicate is also changed to ष ॥

The words प्राक् सितात् are understood here also. The स्थादि roots are, स्था, सेनय &c in VIII. 3. 65 and ending with सेन् in VIII. 3. 70. The sūtra consists of two sentences : (1) The ष takes place in स्था &c. even when a reduplicate intervenes ; (2) The स of the reduplicates of स्था &c. is changed to ष ॥ The first is a *vidhi* rule, and the second is a *niyama* rule.

Thus परित्तौ where the abhyāsa त् intervenes. This applies even to roots other than those which have been taught with a ष in the Dhātupāṭha. As अभिषिषेणयिषति, परिषिषेणयिषति (सेनया अभियातुमिच्छन्ति). This applies moreover to reduplicates which end in अ, as अभित्तौ ; here the स would not have been changed to ष (by VIII. 3. 59) as it is not preceded by इ or उ ॥ Another *raison d'être* of this sūtra is that it prohibits षन् (VIII. 3. 61). As अभिषिषिषति, परिषिषिषति ॥

The word अभ्यासस्य is for the sake of *niyama*, as we have said above. स of स्था &c. and of no other roots is changed to ष ॥ As अभिसुसूषति from सू षेरणे with सन्, the augment is debarred by VII. 2. 12 : the root स is unchanged by the *niyama* prohibition of VIII. 3. 61 ; the reduplicate सू remains unchanged by the restriction of the present sūtra.

उपसर्गात्सुनोतिसुवतिस्यतिस्रौतिस्रौभतिस्यासेनयसेधसिचसञ्जस्वञ्जाम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, सुनोति-सुवति-स्यति-स्रौति-स्रौभति-स्या-सेनय-सेध-सिच-सञ्ज-स्वञ्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्यान्निमिच्छादुत्तरस्य सुनोति सुवति स्यति स्रौति स्रौभति स्या सेनय सेध सिच सञ्ज स्वञ्ज इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

65. ष is substituted for स, after an इ and उ of an upasarga in the following verbs : स्र (सुनोति), सू (सुवति), सो

(स्यति VII. 3. 71), स्तु (स्तौति VII. 3. 89), स्तुभ (स्तोभते), स्था, सेनय (Denominative), सिध् (सेधति), सिच्, सञ्ज् and स्वञ्ज् ॥

Thus अभिपुणोति, परिपुणोति, अभ्यपुणोत्, पर्यपुणोत् ॥ सुवति, अभिपुवति, परिपुवति, अभ्यपुवत्, पर्यपुवत् ॥ स्यति, अभिव्यति, परिव्यति, अभ्यव्यत्, पर्यव्यत् ॥ स्तौति, अभिष्टौति, परिष्टौति, अभ्यष्टौत् ॥ स्तोभति, अभिष्टोभते, परिष्टोभते, अभ्यष्टोभत्, पर्यष्टोभत् ॥ स्था, अभिष्टास्यात्, परिष्टास्यात्, अभ्यष्टान्, पर्यष्टान्, अभितष्टौ, परितष्टौ ॥ सेनय, अभिसेणयति, परिसेणयति, अभ्यसेणयत्, पर्यसेणयत् ॥ अभिषिषेणयिषति, परिषिषेणयिषति ॥ सेध, अभिसेधति, परिसेधति, अभ्यसेधत्, पर्यसेधत् ॥ सिच्, अभिषिञ्चति, परिषिञ्चति, अभ्यषिञ्चत्, पर्यषिञ्चत्, अभिषिषिञ्क्षति, परिषिषिञ्क्षति ॥ सञ्ज्, अभिषजति, परिषजति, अभ्यषजत्, पर्यषजत्, अभिषिष्वज्क्षति, परिषिष्वज्क्षति ॥ स्वञ्ज्, अभिष्वजते, परिष्वजते, अभ्यष्वजत्, पर्यष्वजत्, अभिषिष्वज्क्षते, परिषिष्वज्क्षते ॥ सेध इति शब्दिकरणनिर्देशः सिध्यतिनिवृत्त्यर्थः ॥ उपसर्गादिति, किम्? इधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति, निगताः ॥ सेचका अस्मादेशान्निः सेचको देश इति ॥ नायं सिचैरुपसर्गः ॥ अभिसावकीयसीत्यत्रापि न सुनोति प्रति क्रियायोगः किं तर्हि सावकीयं प्रति ॥ अभिषावयसीत्यत्र तु सुनोतिमेव प्रति क्रियायोगो न सावयतिमिति पथं भवति ॥

The root सिध् is exhibited in the sūtra as सेध with षप् vikaraṇa, thus debarring सिध्-सिध्यति ॥

Why do we say "after an upasarga"? Observe इधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति (VIII. 3. 111). So निःसेचको देशः=निर्गता सेचका अस्माद् देशान् ॥ Here निः is not an Upasarga to सिच्, but to the noun सेचक ॥ Similarly in अभिसावकीयति, the upasarga अभि is not added to the root सु (सुनोति), but to the *third* derivative of सु (सुनोति). Namely, from सु we derive सावक with ण्वुल्, and from सावक we form the Denominative root सावकीय with क्यच्; and to this Denominative root अभि is added. The upasarga, however may be added to the root first, and then ण्वुल् and क्यच् added. In that case, the rule will apply. As अभिषावकीयति ॥ So also with the Causative, as अभिषावयति, for here the upasarga is added to the root सु and not to the causative form सावय ॥

The roots पुष् अभिषवे belongs to Svādi class, पु प्रेरणे to Tudadi class, षोऽन्तकर्मणि to Divādi class, षुस् स्तुती to Adādi class and षुभ स्तंभे, to Bhuādi Class. These have been shown in the sūtra in their declined form in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to their यङ् लुक्, as अभिसोषयति ॥ See VII. 1. 6 for this rule of दितप् exhibited roots. On the other hand, the roots सिच् &c. being not so exhibited, change their स in यङ् लुक् also, as अभिषेधिषीति ॥

The upasarga need not end with इ and उ for the purposes of this rule. Thus निष्पुणोति, दुष्पुणोति, where the upasarga is निस् and दुस् ॥

सदिरप्रतेः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदिः, अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सद्देः सकागस्य उपसर्गस्याग्निमितावप्रतेरुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

66. The स of सद् is changed to ष after an Upasarga having an इ or उ, but not after प्रति ॥

The word सदिः is in the first case, but has the force of genitive. Thus निषीदति विषीदति, व्यषीदत्, व्यषीदत् ॥ निषसाद, विषसाद ॥ The second स remains unchanged in the Perfect by VIII. 3. 118.

Why do we say 'but not after प्रति'? Observe प्रतिसिद्धिः ॥ Prof. Bohtlingk points out that the sūtra is सदेरप्रतेः as given by Sayānāchārya in his commentary on Rig Veda VI. 13. 1. Pāṇini, however, often uses the first case with the force of the Genitive, as in VIII. 3. 80.

स्तन्भेः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तन्भेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तन्भेः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्याभिनिन्तादुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

67. The स् of स्तन्भ is changed into ष after an upasarga, having an इ or उ ॥

Thus अभिष्टन्नाति । परिष्टन्नाति । अभ्यष्टन्नात् । पर्यष्टन्नात् । अभिष्टन्म् । परिष्टन्म् । The word अप्रतेः of the last sūtra is not to be read here. Hence we have forms like :—मतिष्टन्नाति । म्रत्यष्टन्नात्, म्रत्यतितष्टन्म् ॥

अवाञ्छालम्बनाविदूर्ययोः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवात्, च, आलम्बन-आविदूर्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवशब्बादुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तन्भेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति । आलम्बनेर्धे आविदूर्ये च ॥

68. The स् of स्तन्भ is changed into ष after the preposition अव in the sense of 'support' and 'contiguity'.

The word आलम्बनं means "support, refuge, that upon which any thing depends or leans". आविदूर्य means "the state of not being विदूर or far off, i. e. to be contiguous".

Thus अवष्टभ्यास्ते "He remains leaning upon a staff" &c, अवष्टभ्य तिष्ठति ॥ So also in the sense of to be near, as अवष्टब्धा सेना 'the army near at hand'. अवष्टब्धा शरत् ॥ See V. 2. 13.

Why do we say "when having the sense of support or contiguity"? Thus अवस्तब्धो वृषलः क्षीतेन 'the Śūdra is afflicted with cold'.

The present sūtra is commenced in order to make the ष change even while the preceding letter is not इ or उ ॥

वेश्च स्वनो भोजने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, च, स्वनः, भोजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुपसर्गादवाचोत्तरस्य भोजनार्थे स्वनतेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

69. The ष् is substituted for the स् of स्वन, after वि and अव, when the sense is "to smack while eating".

Thus विष्वजति, व्यष्वजत्, विषष्वज, अवष्वजति, अवाष्वजत्, अवषष्वज ॥ That is, he makes sound while eating, he eats with a smack.

Why do we say 'when making a smacking sound in eating'? Observe विस्वननि षृङ्गः "the drum sounds".

परिनिविभ्यः सेवसितसयसिबुसहसुट्स्तुस्वञ्जाम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-नि-वि-भ्यः, सेव-सित-सय-सिबु-सह-सुट्-स्तु-स्वञ्जाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरेषां सेव सित सय सिबु सह सुट् स्तु स्वञ्ज इत्येतेभ्यः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

70. **व** is substituted for the **स्** of **सेव्**, **सित्**, **सय्**, **सिच्**, **सह्**, the augment **सुद्**, **स्तु**, and **स्वञ्ज्**, after the prepositions **परि**, **नि**, and **वि** ॥

The root **सेव** belongs to Bhuādi class. The word **सित्** is the Past Participle of **पिञ् बन्धने**, and **सय्** is the noun derived from the same root with the affix **अच्**; **सिच्** is a Divādi root.

Thus **परिषेवते** । **निषेवते** । **विषेवते** । **पर्यषेवते** । **व्यषेवते** । **न्यषेवते** । **परिषेविविषते** । **विषिविषते** । **निषिविषते** । **सित्** । **परिषितो**, **विषितो**, **निषितः** । **सय्** । **परिषयो**, **निषयो**, **विषयः** । **सिच्** । **परिषीव्यति** । **निषीव्यति** । **विषीव्यति** । **पर्यषीव्यन्** । **न्यषीव्यन्** । **व्यषीव्यन्** । **पर्यसीव्यन्** । **न्यसीव्यन्** । **व्यसीव्यन्** । **सह्** । **परिषहते** । **निषहते** । **विषहते** । **पर्यषहत्** । **न्यषहत्** । **व्यषहत्** । **पर्यसहत्** । **न्यसहत्** । **व्यसहत्** । **सुद्** । **परिष्करोति** । **पर्यस्करोन्** । **स्तु** । **परिष्टौति** । **निष्टौति** । **विष्टौति** । **पर्यष्टौन्** । **न्यष्टौन्** । **व्यष्टौन्** । **पर्यस्तौन्** । **न्यस्तौन्** । **व्यस्तौन्** । **स्वञ्ज्** । **वंशस्वञ्जस्वञ्जामिति** नलोपः । **परिष्वजते** । **निष्वजते** । **विष्वजते** । **पर्यष्वजत** । **पर्यस्वजत** । **पूर्वणैव सिञ्चे** **स्तुस्वञ्जिप्रहणमुत्तरार्थम्** । **अङ्गव्यवायं विभाषा यथा स्यात् ॥**

The nasal is elided in **स्वञ्ज्** by VI. 4. 25. The **स्** of **स्तु** and **स्वञ्ज्** would have been changed to **व** by VIII. 3. 65 also. Their inclusion here is for the sake of subsequent sūtra, by which the **व** change is *optional* when the augment **अङ्** intervenes.

सिवादीनां वाङ्मयवायेपि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिवादीनाम्, वा-अङ्-व्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्तरसुञ्जे सिञ्चसहसुद्स्तुस्वञ्जामिति सिवादयः । सिवादीनामङ्मयवायेपि परिनिविभ्य उत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा मूर्धन्यो भवति ॥

71. The **व्**-change may take place optionally in the **सिच्** and the rest (of the last sūtra), even when the augment **अ** intervenes between the prepositions **परि**, **नि** or **वि** and the verb.

The **सिवादि** are the four roots **सिच्**, **सह्**, **स्तु** and **स्वञ्ज्**, as well as the augment **सुद्** ॥ This is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāṣā. In the case of **स्तु** and **स्वञ्ज्** it is prāpta-vibhāṣā, in the case of others it is aprāpta. The examples have already been given under the preceding sūtra, and so need not be repeated here.

अनुविपर्यभिनिभ्यः स्यन्देतरप्राणिषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-वि-परि-आभि निभ्यः, स्यन्दतेः, अप्राणिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनु वि परि आभि नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्यन्देतरप्राणिषु सकारस्य वा मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

72. **व्** is optionally the substitute of the **स्** of **स्यन्द्**, after the prepositions **अनु**, **वि**, **परि**, **आभि** and **नि**, when the subject is not a living being.

The root **स्यन्द्** प्रस्रवणे is anudātta. Thus **अनुव्यन्दते** । **विष्यन्दते** । **परिव्यन्दते** । **आभिव्यन्दत** । **निष्यन्दते** । **अनुस्यन्दते** । **विस्यन्दते** । **परिस्यन्दते** ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is not a living being'? Observe अनुस्यन्ते मस्य उक्ते ॥ The option of this sūtra will apply, when the subject is a compound of living and non-living beings. Thus अनुस्यन्ते or अनुस्यन्ते मस्योक्ते ॥ The subject here is a Dvandva compound, and it is not in the singular number because of II. 4. 6. The word अप्राणिषु is a Paryudāsa and not a Prasajya-patishedha. If it be the latter sort of prohibition, then the force will be on the word *living*, and in a compound like मस्योक्ते, consisting of *living* and *non-living* beings, the prohibition will apply because it has a *living* being in it, and so there will be no एव ॥ In the other view, the force is on the word *non-living*, and because the compound contains a non-living being, therefore the option will be applied, and the presence of the living being along with it will be ignored.

The anuvṛtti of परि, नि and वि is understood here from VIII. 3. 70. So these words could well have been omitted from the sūtra, which might have then been अन्यभिर्भाष्य स्यन्तेरप्राणिषु, and by the force of च we would draw in the anuvṛtti of परि &c.

वेः स्कन्देरनिष्ठायाम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कन्देः, अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्कन्देः सकारस्य मुद्धन्यो वा भवति अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

73. ए is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द, after the preposition वि, but not in the participles in त and तवत् ॥

The root is स्कन्द् गति शोधययोः ॥ Thus विष्कन्ता or विस्कन्ता, विष्कन्तुम् or विस्कन्तुम्, विष्कन्तव्यम् or विस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'but not in the Nishṭhā'? Observe विस्कन्नः

परेश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिसङ्घाद्योत्तरस्य स्कन्देः सकारस्य वा मुद्धन्यो भवति ॥

74. ए is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द after the preposition परि every where.

Thus परिष्कन्ता or परिस्कन्ता, परिष्कन्तुम् or परिस्कन्तुम्, परिष्कन्तव्यम् or परिस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

The word परि could well have been included in the last sūtra as विपरिभाष्य स्कन्दे &c. The very fact that it has not been so included, indicates that the prohibition of अनिष्ठायाम् does not apply to it. Thus परिष्कणः or परिस्कन्नः ॥

परिस्कन्दः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिस्कन्दः, प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिस्कन्द इति मुद्धन्याभावो निपात्यते प्राच्यभरतेषु प्रयोगविषयेषु ॥

75. The word परिस्कन्द is used without the cerebral change in the country of Eastern Bharata.

This is an anomaly. The **ए** required by the last sūtra is prohibited. The other form is **परिष्कन्द्** ॥ The word **परिष्कन्द्** is formed by the affix **अच्** or it is a Nishṭhā, the **त्** being elided. The word **भरत** qualifies the word **प्राच्य** ॥

Prof. Bohtlingk translates it "परिष्कन्द् is seen in the usage of the Eastern People and the Bharata". He bases his construction on the sūtras II. 4. 66, and IV. 2. 113, where **प्राच्यभरतेषु** means "the Eastern People and Bharata".

स्फुरतिस्फुल्लयोर्निनिविभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुल्लयोः, निस्, नि, विभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फुरतिस्फुल्लयोः सकारस्य निस् नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वा मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

76. **ए** is optionally substituted for the **स्** of **स्फु** and **स्फुल्ल** after the prepositions **निस्, नि, and वि** ॥

Thus **निष्फुरति** or **निस्फुरति**, **निस्फुरति** or **निष्फुरति**, **विस्फुरति**, **विष्फुरति** ॥ **स्फुलति**, **निष्फुलति**, **निस्फुलति**, **निष्फुलति**, **विष्फुलति**, **विष्फुलति** ॥

वेः स्कभ्रातेर्नित्यम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, स्कभ्रातेः, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुतस्य स्कभ्रातेः सकारस्य नित्यं मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

77. **ए** is always substituted for the **स्** of **स्कम्भ**, after the preposition **वि** ॥

Thus **विष्कम्भति**, **विष्कम्भिता**, **विष्कम्भितुम्**, **विष्कम्भितव्यम्** ॥

इणः धीध्वंलुङ्लिट्ठां धोङ्गात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, धीध्वं, लुङ्लिट्ठां, धः, अङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्धन्य इति वर्त्तते । इणन्तादङ्गात्परेषां धीध्वंलुङ्लिट्ठां यो धकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

78. The cerebral sound is substituted in the room of the **ध्व** of **धीध्वम्**, and of the Personal-endings of the Aorist and the Perfect, after a stem ending in **इण्** (a vowel other than **अ**).

The word 'cerebral' is understood here from VIII. 3. 55. Thus **अध्याधीध्वम्, शोषाधीध्वम्** ॥ Aorist:—**अध्याध्वम्, शोषाध्वम्** (VIII. 2. 25). Perfect: **अकृद्धे** ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of **इण्कोः** was current here from VIII. 3. 57, yet the repetition of the word **इण्** here indicates that the anuvṛitti of **कु** or the guttural ceases. As **पक्षीध्वम्, यक्षीध्वम्** ॥

Why do we say "the **ध** of **धीध्वं, लुङ्** and **लिट्**"? Observe **स्तुध्वे, अस्तुध्वम्**, where the **ध** is of **लृट्** and **लङ्** ॥

Why do we say **अङ्गात्** 'after a stem'? Observe **परिवेविधीध्वम्**, from **विष्ल-व्याप्ति** of the Juhotyādi class. There is Guṇa of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 75, the **स्** of **सीयुट्** is elided by VII. 2. 79, and **धीध्वम्** here is made up of the **ध्व** of the root **विष्**, and **ईध्वम्** the affix; therefore **धीध्वं** here is not after the **āṅga** **परिवे वि**, for the **āṅga** here is **परिवे विष्**, and **ईध्वम्** is the affix. This result could have been

obtained, without using the word अङ्गात् in the sūtra, by the maxim अर्थवद् ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning, denotes that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote a combination void of meaning".

विभाषेतः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, इटः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणः परस्मादिद उत्तरेषां धीध्वलुङ्लिटां या धकारस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति विभाषा ॥

79. The cerebral sound is optionally substituted for the ध् of धीध्वम् and of the Aorist and the Perfect after the augment इट्, when the stem ends in इण् ॥

Thus लू + इट् + धीध्वम् = लविधीध्वम् or लविधीध्वम् so also पविधीध्वम् or पविधीध्वम् from पू ॥ Aorist:—अलविध्वम् or अलविध्वम् ॥ Perfect:—लुलुविध्वे or लुलुविध्वे ॥

The word इण is understood here and it qualifies the word इट्, so that the stem should end in an इण् vowel which should be followed by the इट् augment and this letter should be followed by धीध्वम् and the ध beginning affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect. If the stem does not end in an इण् vowel, the rule will not apply; as आसिधीध्वम् from the root आस उपवेक्षणे ॥

Then in the word उपविधीध्वे, will the cerebral change not take place by the option of this sūtra or otherwise? This is from the root धीङ् क्षये in the Perfect with the augment इट् (VII. 2. 13.), and युट् (by VI. 4. 63). Some say that as the augment युट् intervenes between the stem ending in ई (इण् vowel), and the augment इट्, therefore this rule will not apply and there will not be the optional ह ॥ Others hold that the anuvṛtti of अङ्गात् has ceased, and the anuvṛtti of इण् is only current, in this sūtra, and there is no intervention and so there will be the optional change into ह ॥

समासेङ्गुलेः सङ्गः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अङ्गुलेः, सङ्गः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सङ्गसकारस्याङ्गुलेरुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

80. ण् is substituted for the स् of सङ्ग after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound.

Thus अङ्गुलिपङ्ग । अङ्गुलिपङ्गो यवागूः । अङ्गुलिपङ्गो गाः सादयति ॥ Why do we say in a compound? Observe अङ्गुले सङ्गं पश्य ॥

The word सङ्गः is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive i. e. सङ्गस्य ॥

भीरोः स्थानम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीरोः, स्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानसकारस्य भीरोरुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

81. ण् is substituted for the स् of स्थानं when preceded by भीरु in a compound.

Thus भीरुस्थानम् ॥ The word compound is understood here also; otherwise भीरो स्थानं पश्य ॥

अग्नेः स्तुतस्तोमसोमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, स्तुत, स्तोम, सोमाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्ररुत्तरस्य स्तुत् स्तोम सोम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

इष्टिः ॥ अग्नेर्दीधिति सोमस्येष्यते ॥

82. *स्* is substituted for the *स* of स्तुत, स्तोम and सोम when preceded by अग्नि in a compound.

Thus अग्निष्टुत्, अग्निष्टोमः, अग्नीषोमः ॥

Ishti.—The *इ* of अग्नि is lengthened before सोम and it is after such lengthened *इ*, that the *स* of सोम is changed to *ष*, otherwise not. As अग्निसोमौ माणवकौ ॥ So also अग्निंसोमौ तिष्ठतः (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have अग्ने सोमः ॥

The word अग्निष्टुत् is formed by *क्विप्*, the *sacrifice* in which Agni is praised (स्तुयते) is so called. अग्निष्टोमः is also the name of a sacrifice: the first division (संस्था) of the Soma-yāga. अग्नीषोमः is a देवता-द्वन्द्वः so where there is no Devatā-Dvandva, the *ब* change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Āśvalāyana there is lengthening and *ब* change in the last case also, as अग्नीषोमौ प्रणेष्यामि ॥

ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, आयुषः, स्तोमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् आयुस् इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्तोमसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

83. The *स* of स्तोमः is changed to *ष* after ज्योतिस् and आयुस् in a compound.

As ज्योतिष्टोमः, आयुष्टोमः, but ज्योतिः स्तोमं दर्शयति where there is no compounding.

मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृ, पितृभ्याम्, स्वसा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृ पितृ इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्वसृसकारस्य समासे मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

84. The *स* of स्वसृ is changed to *ष* after मातृ and पितृ in a compound.

As मातृष्वसा, पितृष्वसा ॥ See VI. 3. 24.

मातुःपितृभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, पितृभ्याम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातुर् पितुर् इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्वसृसकारस्यान्यतरस्यां मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

85. The *स* of स्वसृ is optionally changed to *ष*, after मातुर् and पितुर् in a compound.

Thus मातुःस्वसा. or मातुःष्वसा ; पितुःस्वसा or पितुःष्वसा ॥ The word मातुर् and पितुर् end in *र्*, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24). In fact, the word पितुर् is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a *र्*, the word मातुः therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a *र्* ending word.

Q.—Well, if this be so, when this *र्* is changed to a visarga, and the visarga changed to *स्* by VIII. 3. 36, then there would be no *ब* change?

Ans.—The ए change would take place both after the visarga-ending or स-ending words, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means, in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Therefore, these words are taken to end in इ॥ For if they were taken to end in स्, then the rule would not apply when they ended in a visarga. If they be supposed to end in a visarga, then the form वितुभ्याम् with a इ before भ्याम् in the sūtra is hard to explain.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वसा when the words are used separately in a sentence.

अभिनिस्तनः शब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निसः, स्तनः, शब्द-संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभि निस् इत्येस्मादुत्तरस्य स्तनतिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां शब्दसंज्ञायां गम्य-मानायाम् ॥

86. The स् of स्तन् is optionally changed to ए after the double preposition अभि निस्, when the word so formed is the name of a particular letter (i. e. visarga).

As अभिनिष्टानो वर्णः, अभिनिष्टानो विसर्जनीयः or अभिनिस्तानो वर्णः or विसर्जनीयः ॥ The compound preposition अभि-निस् causes this change, and not any one of them separately. Thus Āpastamba :—द्वक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वमाख्यातोत्तरं शीर्षमभि-निष्टान्तं, दोषवशाद्यन्तरन्तस्यम्, "a name (nāma) should be such that it should consist of two-syllables or four-syllables, that its first portion should be a noun (nama-pūrva), and its second portion a verb (ākhyāta), that it should end in a long vowel (dirgha) or a visarga (abhinishtaṇa), that the first letter of such a noun should be a ghosha or sonant letter (ghosha-vad-ādi), and a semi-vowel (antastha) should be in the body of it." Thus the names द्विविणोदा, वरिवोदा fulfill these conditions and are good names.

Why do we say "when it is the name of a particular letter."? Observe अभिनिस्तनति वृद्धः ॥ The anuvṛitti of समासे ceases from this place.

उपसर्गप्रादुर्भ्यामस्तिर्यच्परः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, प्रादुर्भ्याम्, अस्तिः, यच्परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्याभिनिस्तप्रादुसशब्दाद्योत्तरस्य यकारपरस्याच्परस्य चास्तिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

87. The स् of the verb अस् is changed to ए, when it is followed by a vowel or य् and is preceded by प्रादुः, or an upasarga having इ or उ in it.

The word यच् परः means 'followed by य् or अच्' ॥ The word प्रादुः is an Indeclinable, meaning 'evidently'.

Thus अभिपन्ति, निपन्ति, विपन्ति, प्रादुःपन्ति; अभिष्यात्, निष्यात्, विष्यात्, प्रादुः-ष्यात् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by an *Upasarga* having an इ or उ?" Observe शब्धस्यात्, मधुस्यात् ॥ Why do we say 'of the verb अस्'? Observe अनुसृतम्, विसृतम् ॥

Q.—How is there any occasion for the application of the rule here? The context here relates to स, and the word "upasarga" qualifies that स, but here the upasarga is not applied to स but to the *whole verb* स, therefore this is no counter-example. In fact, what is the necessity of using the word अस् at all in the sūtra: for even without it, the word 'upasarga' would qualify that verb which consists of स only, and such a verb is अस्, with its अ elided and no other verb? Nor is the employment of अस् necessary for प्रादुः, for it comes only in connection with the verbs कृ, भू and अस् ॥

Ans.—All that you urge, is true, yet the following counter-example should be given, as अनुसू, the son of Anusū will be आनुसेयः with ढक् as it belongs to Subhrādi class. Thus अनुसू + ढक् = आनुसू + एय = आनुस् + एय ॥ Here the ऊ is elided by VI. 4. 147. Now when ऊ is elided, the स is the only verb-element that remains, अनु is upasarga, and एय is affix; so that had अस् not been taken in the sūtra, the rule would apply to this स also.

Why do we say "when it is followed by a vowel or य्"? Observe निस्तः, विस्तः, प्रादुस्तः ॥

सुविनिर्दुर्भ्यः सुपिसूतिसमाः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, वि, निर्, दुर्भ्यः, सुपि, सूति, समाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु वि निर् दुर् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सुपि सूति सम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूलन्यादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—सुपेः षत्वं स्वपेर्मा भूदिसुष्वापेति केन न ।

हलादिशेषान्न सुपिरिष्टं पूर्वं प्रसारणम् ॥

स्यादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक्सितादुत्तरः सुपि ।

अनर्थके विषुषुपः सुपिभूतो द्विरुच्यते ॥

88. The स of स्वप्, सूति, and सम is changed to ष after सु, वि, निर् and दुर् ॥

The word सुपि is exhibited in the sūtra as the form of स्वप् with vocalisation. Thus सुपुमः, निः पुमः दुः पुमः ॥ The word सूति is the क्तिन् ending form of स; the rule applies to this form only, as सुपूतिः, विपूतिः, निःपूति and दुःपूतिः ॥ The word सम also means the *noun* सम and not the verb सम स्तन वैकल्ये ॥ Thus सुपमम्, विपमम्, निःपमम्, दुःपमम् ॥

Kārikā—Why is षत्वं taught with regard to the सुप् form of स्वप्? Ans. सुपेः षत्वं स्वपेर्मा भूत्, so that the षत्वं change should not take place in स्वप् form, as विस्वमः and विस्वमक् (III. 2. 172) ॥ Q. विसुष्वापेति केन न? For what reason the षत्वं change has not taken place in the reduplicate विसुष्वाप, for here also in the reduplicate, is the form सुप्, as विसुप्स्वप्, and then by applying हलादिशेष rule, the ष is elided, and एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् applies? Ans. हलादि शेषान्न न सुपिः, we

reduplicate the form स्वप्, as विस्वप्स्वप् and then elide प्, as विस्वस्वप्, and then vocalise, as विस्वप्स्वप् so that there being no form सुप्, there is no पत्व ॥ इदं पूर्वं प्रसारणे, in fact, the vocalisation takes place first, and then elision according to an ishti. See VI 1. 17. Otherwise, in स्वप् स्वप्, as प् is elided, व् would also have been elided. Why is the स of विस्वप्स्वप् not changed to व् by VIII. 3. 64? स्यादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक् सितादुत्तरः सुप्, the rule VIII. 3. 64 does not apply, because that rule is confined only to verbs up to सित in VIII. 3. 70, while सुप् is *after* that verb. Moreover the प् of सुप् being elided, the mere सु is अनर्थक, and the maxim is अर्थवद् पठणे नानर्थकस्य ॥ Q. If this maxim is applied, how do you form विष्णुपुः? Ans. अनर्थके विष्णुपुः पुपिभूतादिरुच्यते, here the form पुप् is doubled, and not सुप् ॥ The root is first joined with the affix वि + स्वप्, then there is vocalisation विष्णुप्, then there is व् change, as विष्णुप्, then reduplication, as विष्णुप्स्वप् ॥ Now पत्व being considered asiddha, the doubling should take place first? No, for we have already shown that for the purposes of doubling, the पत्व change is not asiddha (VIII. 2. 3 Vārt.)

निनदीभ्यां स्नातेः कौशले ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, नदीभ्याम्, स्नातेः, कौशले ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि नदी इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्नातितकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति कौशले गम्यमाने ॥

89. The प् is substituted for स् of स्ना after नि and नदी when the word so formed denotes "dexterous."

Thus निष्णातः कटकरणे । निष्णातो रज्जुवर्त्तने । नद्यां स्नातीति नदीष्णः ॥ This last word is formed by the affix क added to स्ना preceded by the upapada नदी under sūtra III. 2. 4.

Why do we say when meaning dexterous? Observe निस्नातः, नदीस्नातः (नद्यां स्नातः)

सूत्रं प्रतिष्णातम् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रम्, प्रतिष्णातम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिष्णातमिति निपात्यते । सूत्रं वेदवति । प्रतिष्णातं सूत्रम् ॥

90. The word प्रतिष्णातः is irregularly formed when meaning a sūtra.

Thus प्रतिष्णातः सूत्रम् i. e. शुद्धम् 'pure'. When it has not this meaning we have प्रतिस्नातं = 'bathed'

कपिष्ठलो गोत्रे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपिष्ठलः, गोत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपिष्ठल इति निपात्यते गोत्रविषये ॥

91. The word कपिष्ठल is irregularly formed denoting the founder of a gotra of that name.

Thus the son of Kapishṭhala will be कपिष्ठलिः ॥ The word gotra " here does not mean the grammatical "gotra," but the popular term 'gotra' denoting 'clans,' as described in the list of pravara. Why do we say "when denoting the founder of a gotra"? Observe कपिस्थलम् The land of the monkeys.

प्रष्टो अग्रगामिनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रष्टः, अग्रगामिनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रष्ट इति निपात्यते अग्रगामिन्यभिधेये ॥

92. The word प्रष्ट is irregularly formed when denoting 'a chief' or 'one who goes in front'.

Thus प्रष्टोऽश्व meaning a 'best horse'. Why do we say when meaning 'going in front'? Observe प्रष्टे हिमवतः पुण्ये "On the sacred peak of the Himalaya". प्रष्टो ब्रीहीणाम् 'a measure of barley'.

वृक्षासनयोर्विष्टरः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृक्ष, आसनयोः, विष्टरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टरं इति निपात्यते वृक्षे आसने च वाच्ये । विपूर्वस्य स्तृणान्ते षत्वं निपात्यते ॥

93. The word विष्टर is irregularly formed in the sense of "tree" and "seat."

This word is formed by adding the affix अष् to the root स्तृ preceded by the preposition वि ॥ Thus विष्टरे वृक्षः ॥ विष्टरमासनम् ॥

Why do we say when meaning a 'tree' or a 'seat'? Observe औलपिवाक्यस्य विस्तरः ॥ See sūtra III. 3. 33. by which अष् is added here instead of धष् ॥

छन्दोनाम्नि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोनाम्नि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इति निपात्यते । विपूर्वास्तृ इत्येतस्माद्भातोः छन्दोनाम्नि चेत्येवं विहित इति विष्टर इत्यपि प्रकृते विष्टार इत्यत्र विज्ञायते ॥

94. Also when it is the name of a metre, the irregular form विष्टार is used.

By Sūtra III. 3. 34 the word विष्टार is formed denoting a sort of metre called विष्टारपङ्क्तिः ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'the name of a chhandas'? Observe पदस्य विस्तरः ॥

In fact this sūtra makes unnecessary the sutra III. 3. 34. To avoid this difficulty, some say that the sūtra III. 3. 34 is not confined to the preposition वि, so that we can form प्रस्तारपङ्क्तिः संसारपङ्क्तिः ॥

गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवि, युधिभ्याम्, स्थिरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवियुधिभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्थिरसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

95. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to ष् after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गविष्ठिर, युधिष्ठिर ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 44. and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9. though the word गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of this sūtra.

विकुशमिपरिभ्यः स्थलम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि, कु, शमि, परिभ्यः, स्थलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि कु शमिं परि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थलसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

96. **ष्** is substituted for **स्** in स्थल after वि, कु, शमि, and परि ॥

Thus विष्टलम्, कुष्टलम्, शमिष्टलम् and परिष्टलम् ॥ The word वि, कु and परि are compounded under II. 2. 18.; the word शमी forms a genitive by VI. 3. 63. In the aphorism the word शमि is shown with a short इ, indicating thereby that when the इ is not shortened, the cerebral change does not take place; as शमी-स्थलम्

अम्बाम्बगोभूमिसव्यापद्वित्रिकुशेकुशङ्कुङ्गुमञ्जिपुञ्जिपरमेवर्हिर्हिर्व्यग्निभ्यः स्थः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्या, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शेकु, शङ्कु, अङ्गु, मञ्जि, पुञ्जि, परमे, वर्हिस्, दिवि, अग्निभ्यः, स्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम्ब आम्ब गो भूमि अप द्वि त्रि कु शेकु शङ्कु अङ्गु मञ्जि पुञ्जि परमे वर्हिस् दिवि अग्नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थशब्दसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्थस्थिन्स्थणामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The **स्** of स्थ is changed to **ष्** after अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्य, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शेकु शङ्कु, अङ्गु, मञ्जि, पुञ्जि, परमे, वर्हिस्, दिवि and अग्नि ॥

Thus अम्बष्ठः, आम्बष्ठः, गोष्ठः, भूमिष्ठः, सव्यष्ठः, अपष्ठः, द्विष्ठः, त्रिष्ठः, कुष्ठः, शेकुष्ठः, शङ्कुष्ठः, अङ्गुष्ठः, मञ्जिष्ठः, पुञ्जिष्ठः, परमेष्ठः, वर्हिष्ठः, दिविष्ठः, अग्निष्ठः ॥

The word स्थ is shown in the sūtra in the first case, and means the word-form स्थ, and it is not the genitive case of स्था, for then the rule would apply to गोस्थानम्, भूमिस्थानम् &c.

Vart.—The same change takes place in स्था, स्थिन्, and स्थ् ॥ As सव्येष्टः । परमेष्टी । सव्येष्टा सारथिः ॥

सुषामादिषु च ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुषामादि षु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुषामादिषु शब्देषु सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

98. The **स्** is changed to **ष्** in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मणः = सोमनम् साम यस्य असौ ॥

1 सुषामा, 2 निःषामा, 3 दुःषामा, 4 सुषेधः, 5 निषेधः (निःषेधः), 6 दुःषेधः, 7 सुषंधिः, 8 निःषंधिः (निषंधिः), 9 दुःषंधिः, 10 सुष्ट (सुष्ट), 11 दुष्ट (दुष्ट), 12 गौरिषक्यः संज्ञायाम्, 13 प्रतिष्णिका, 14 जलापाहम्, 15 नौषेचनम् (नौषेवनम्), 16 दुन्दुभिषेवनम् (दुन्दुभिषेचनम्; °षेवनम्) 17 एति संज्ञायामगात्, 18 हरिषेणः, 19 नक्षत्राद्वा, रोहिणीषेणः ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. III, others would never have taken ष, hence their inclusion in this list. The word सु is here a karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 94) and निर् and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and क्री; so VIII. 3. 65 does not apply to सेध preceded by निर् and दुर् ॥ The words निःषेधः and दुःषेधः = निर्गतः सेधः or दुर्गतः सेधः ॥ The word सेध here is a षम् formed word, from पिष्टृ हिंसा संशब्दोः; if it be derived from

विध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113. The words सुबन्धिः, दुःबन्धिः &c are derived from धा with the prepositions सु and सम्, and the affix कि (III. 3. 92); and the स of सम् is changed to ए॥ The words सुब्धु, दुब्धु are Uṇādi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word गौरिषक्थः is a Bahuvrihi, the स of सक्थि is changed to ए and the Samāsānta चच् is added (V. 4. 113). The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63. The word प्रतिष्णिका is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root णा, and the affix अह् (III. 3. 106), and we have प्रतिष्णा with दाप्; then क is added by V. 3. 73, and णा shortened (VII. 4. 13), and इ added by VII. 3. 44. The word नैवेचने is formed by adding ल्युट् to सिच् ॥ दुन्दुभिचवर्ण is also a ल्युट् formed word from सेवति or सीव्यति ॥

एति संज्ञायामगात् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, संज्ञायाम्, अगात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारपरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति इण्कोत्तरस्यागकारात्परस्य संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99 The स followed by ए and preceded by इण् or कु is changed to ए, when the word is a name, and when the स is not preceded by ग् ॥

Thus हरयः सेना अस्य = हरिषेजः, परितः सेना अस्य = परिषेजः, so also वारिषेजः, जातुषेजी ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हस्तिक्षयम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथ्वी सेना यस्य स = पृथुसेनो राजा (VI. 3. 34). Why do we say 'when the स is not preceded by ग्'? Observe विष्वक् सेनः ॥ The phrase इण्कोः is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेनः ॥

नक्षत्राद्वा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रवाचिनः शब्दादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा एति संज्ञायामगकाराद् मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

100 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ए substitution for स under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus रोहिणिषेजः or रोहिणिसेनः, भरणिषेजः or भरणिसेनः ॥ But not here शत-भिषक् सेनः were the preceded letter is ग् ॥ These two sūtras 99 and 100 are really Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the गुणामादि Gaṇa. The author of Kāśikā has raised them to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral ए changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under this Sushāmādi gaṇa.

ह्रस्वात्तादौ तद्धिते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, तादौ, तद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति तादौ तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकः ॥ तिङन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

101. ए is substituted for a final स preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त ॥

The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely, **तर, तम, तय, त्व, तल्, तस्, तप् ॥** As **तर**—**सर्पिष्टरम् यजुष्टरम् । तम । सर्पिष्टमम । यजुष्टमम । तय । चतुष्टये ब्राह्मणानां निकेताः । त्व । सर्पिष्टम् । यजुष्टम् । तल् । सर्पिष्टा । यजुष्टा । तस् । सर्पिष्टो, यजुष्टः । त्वप् । आविष्क्यो वर्द्धते । ह्रस्वादिति किम् । गीस्तर । धूस्तर । तादाविति किम् । सर्पिस्ताङ्गवति । प्रत्ययसकारस्य स्यात्पदाद्योरिति सत्यपि प्रतिषेधे प्रकृतिसकारस्य स्यात् । तद्धितइति किम् । सर्पिस्तरति ॥**

Why do we say before affixes beginning with **त** ॥ Observe **सर्पिस्ताङ्गवति ॥**

Q.—But this **त** would never have been changed to **द** because of the prohibition in VIII. 3. III, how can you then give this counter-example?

Ans.—Though the **त** of the affix **सात्** is prohibited by VIII. 3. III, yet the counter-example is valid, because the **त्** of the base **सर्पिस्** is also not changed. Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe **सर्पिस्तृति ॥**

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of finite verbs before Taddhita affixes. As **भिन्त्युस्तराम् । छिन्त्युस्तराम् ॥** These are the Potential third person plural of **भिन्** and **छिन्** with the augment **यासुद्**; the Taddhita affix **तरप्** is added by V. 3. 56, and **आम्** is added by V. 4. II.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated with regard to **पुंस्** as **पुंस्त्यम् पुंस्ता ॥**

निसस्तपतावनासेवने ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निसः, तपतौ, अनासेवने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निसः सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति तपतौ परतो नोसेवनेयं ॥

102. **प्** is substituted for the **स्** of **निस** before the verb **तप्** when the meaning is not that of 'repeatedly making red hot'.

The word **आसेवन** means doing a thing repeatedly and here it means making it red-hot repeatedly. Thus **निष्टपतिः सुवर्णम् = सकृन् अग्निम् स्पर्शयति** i. e. he puts the gold into fire only once.

Why do we say when not meaning repeatedly. Observe **निस्तपति सुवर्णम् = पुनः पुनरग्निं स्पर्शयति ॥**

In the sentences **निष्टम् रक्तः, निष्टम् अरातयः** the change has taken place either as a Vedic irregularity or because the sense of repeatedness is not implied here.

युष्मत्तत्तत्तुः श्वन्तः पादम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मत्, तत्, तत्तुः पु, अन्तः पादम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मत् तत् तत्तुस् इत्येतेषु सकारादिषु परतः सकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति स चेक्सकारेणतः पादं भवति ॥

103. The **स्** standing in the inner half of a stanza is changed to **प्** before the **त** of **त्वम् &c.** and **तद्** and **तत्तुस् ॥**

The word युष्मद् here means the substitutes त्वम्, त्वाम्, ते, तव. As अग्निर्द्वा, नामासीत् ॥ त्वा, अग्निर्द्वा वर्जयामसि ॥ ते, अग्निर्द्वा विश्वमानय ॥ तव, अप्सवग्ने सधिदव, (Rig VIII. 43. 9) ॥ तत्, अग्निर्द्वा विश्वमापृणाति, (Rig X. 2. 4) तत्तुस्, द्यावापृथिवी निदततुः पु ॥ अन्तः-पादमिति किम्, नित्यमात्मनो विदाभूद्भिस्तत्पुनराह जातवेदो विश्वर्षणिः ॥

Why do we say in the inner half of a stanza? Observe यन्ममात्मनो मिन्वाभूवग्निस्तत्पुनराह जातवेदो विश्वर्षणिः ॥ Here the word अग्निः is at the *end* of the first stanza while तत् is at the *beginning* of the second stanza, therefore the स् of अग्निस् is not in the middle of a stanza.

यजुष्येकेषाम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, एकेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषि विषये युष्मत्तत्तत्तुः पु परत एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the opinion of some, the above change takes place in Yajurveda also.

Thus अग्निर्द्वा or अग्निर्द्वास्त्वम् । अग्निर्द्वास्त्वम् or अग्निर्द्वास्त्वम् । अग्निर्द्वा or अग्निर्द्वास्त्वम् । अग्निर्द्वास्त्वम् or अग्निर्द्वास्त्वम् ॥

स्तुतस्तोमयोश्छन्दासि ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तुतस्तोमयोः, छन्दासि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ एकेषामिति वर्तते । स्तुत स्तोम इत्येतयोः सकारस्य छन्दासि विषये मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन छन्दासिविषये ।

105. The स् of स्तुत and स्तोम, in the Chhandas, is changed to ष् in the opinion of some.

Thus त्रिभिष्टुतस्य or त्रिभिस्तुतस्य, गोष्टोमं षोडशिनम् or गोस्तोमं षोडशिनम् ॥ This change would have taken place by the general rule contained in the next sūtra VIII. 3. 106, the special mention of स्तुत and स्तोम here is a mere amplification. The word छन्दासि of this sūtra governs the subsequent sūtra also.

पूर्वपदात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्याग्निमिच्छादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति छन्दासि विषये एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ।

106. In the Chhandas, according to some, स् is changed to ष्, when it stands in the beginning of a second word, preceded by a word ending in इ &c.

The words छन्दासि and एकेषां are both understood here. Thus द्विषन्धिः or द्विषन्धिः, त्रिषन्धिः or त्रिषन्धिः ; मधुष्ठानम् or मधुस्थानम्, द्विसाहसं चिन्वीत or द्विसाहसं चिन्वीत ॥

The word पूर्वपद here means the first member of a compound word as well as the prior word other than that in a compound. Thus त्रिःषष्ट्यस्त्राय or त्रिःषष्ट्यस्त्राय ॥

सुजः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुजः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सुमिति निपात इह गृह्यते तस्य पूर्वपदस्याग्निमिच्छादुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति छन्दासि विषये ।

107. The स of the Particle सु is changed to व in the Chhandas, when preceded by another word having in it the change-effecting letter इ &c.

Thus अमी सु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) ऊर्ध्वं ऊ सु णः (Rig. I. 36. 13). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 134, and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

सनोतेरनः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनोतेः, अनः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरनकारान्तस्य सकारस्य दृढन्यादेशो भवति ।

108. The स of the verb सन्, when it loses its न्, is changed to व, under the same circumstances.

Thus गोषाः (Rig. IX. 2. 10), formed by the affix विट (III. 2. 67), the न् is elided by VI. 4. 41. So also नृषाः ॥

Why do we say 'when it loses its न्'? Observe गोसनि वाचपुत्रीयन् (Atharv. III. 20. 10). Here the affix is इन् (III. 2. 27). See however गोषनि in Rig. VI. 53. 10.

Though this व change would have taken place by VIII. 3. 106 also, the separate enumeration is for the sake of niyama or restriction. Some however read the word गोसनि in the list of सवनानि words (VIII. 3. 110), and they hold that the proper counter-example is सिसानयिषति ॥ So also सिसनीः formed by adding क्तिप् to the Derivative root सिसनिस्, thus सिसनिस् + क्तिप् = सिसनिस् (the न् is elided by VI. 4. 48) + ०. add सु, सिसनिस् + स् = सिसनिस् + ० [स् is elided by VI. 1. 68. Now the final स् (of the Desiderative affix सन्) is liable to be changed either to व् or to र् (ह). The व being asiddha, the ह change takes place.] = सिसनिर् = सिसनीः (the lengthening is by VIII. 2. 76). Here the Desiderative affix सन् is not changed to व, hence this word is not governed by VIII. 3. 61. This being the object of this sūtra, there will be व change in सिषानयिषति in the Causative.

सहेः पृतनर्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहेः पृतना-ऋताभ्याम्, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतना ऋत इत्येताभ्यां णरस्य सहसकारस्य दृढन्यादेशो भवति ।

109. The स of सह is changed to व, after पृतना and ऋत ॥

Thus पृतनाषाहम्, ऋताषाहम् ॥ Some divide this sūtra into two; as (1) सहेः; (2) पृतनर्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ So that the rule may apply to ऋतीषहः also. The word ऋति is lengthened by VI. 3. 116, in sañhitā: and the व change takes place in sañhitā only. Otherwise the form is ऋतिसहम् ॥ The word च 'and' in the sūtra includes words other than those not mentioned in it. The word ऋतीषहं would be valid by this also.

न रपरसृपिस्सृजिस्सृशिस्सृहिस्सवनादीनाम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, र-पर, सृपि, सृजि, सृशि, सृहि-सवनादीनाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रेकपरस्य सकारस्य सृपि सृजि सृशि सृहि सवनादीनां च मूर्धन्यो न भवति ।

110. The **ष्** substitution does not take place if **र** follows the **स्**, as well as in **सृप**, **सृज**, **सृश** **सृह**, and in **सवन** and the rest.

Thus विशंसिकायाः काण्डं जुगोति ॥ The word विशंसिक is formed by the affix ण्वुल् (III. 3. 109), विशन्धः कथयति ॥ This word is from the root सृम्भु विश्वासे, the इद् is not added by VII. 2. 15 and the nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24. before the निष्ठहा स ॥ सृपः—पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपः ॥ The word विसृपः is formed by the affix कसुन् (III. 4. 17), सृजः—वायो विसर्जनात् ॥ सृशः—दिविस्पृशम् ॥ सृहिः—निस्पृहं कथयति ॥

The following is a list of सवनादि words :—

1 सवने सवने, 2 सूते सूते, 3 सोमे सोमे, 4 सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, 5 किसः किसः (किस्यतीति किसः), 6 अनुसवनमनुसवनम्, 7 गोसनि गोसनिम्, 8 अभ्वसनिमभ्वसनिम् ॥ In some books this is the list 9 सवने सवने, 10 सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, 11 अनुसवनमनुसवनम् (अनुसवने २), 12 संज्ञायां बृहस्प-तिसवः, 13 शकुनिसवनम्, 14 सोमे, सोमे, 15 छुते छुते (सूते २), 16 संवत्सरे सवत्सरे, 17 विसं विसम्, 18 किसं किसम् (किसं किसम्), 19 छुसले छुसलम् 20 गोसनिम्, 21 अभ्वसनिम् ॥

सात्पदाद्योः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सात्, पदाद्योः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सादिति चैतस्य यङि परतो मूर्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

111. The **ष्** substitution does not take place in the affix सात् and for that **स** which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus सात् here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52, and it would have been changed to **ष्** by VIII. 3. 59. The present sūtra prevents that. The Padādi **स** refers to those verbs which in the Dhātupāṭha are taught with a **ष्**, and for which a **स** is substituted. This also is an exception to VIII. 3. 59. Thus अभिसात् । वधिसात् । मधुसात् ॥ So also with Padādi **स** as वधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति ॥

सिचो यङि ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचः, यङि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः सकारस्य यङि परतो मूर्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

112. The **ष्** substitution does not take place in the **स्** of सिच् of the Intensive.

Thus सेसिच्यते and अभिसेसिच्यते ॥

Q.—The **स** of the reduplicate should be changed into **ष्** by VIII. 3. 65, in अभिसेसिच्यते, and the **स** of the root should be changed into **ष्** by VIII. 3. 64. Because सिच् is one of the roots taught in VIII. 3. 65, and therefore, as this

latter rule prevents the operation of VIII. 3. 111 i. e. पवादि स so far as it goes, so it would prevent also the operation of this rule and the form ought to be अभिषिषिच्यते?

Ans.—The ष ordained by VIII. 3. 65 prevents only the operation of पवादि स of VIII. 3. 111, and not the स of this rule. Therefore the present prohibition is of universal application.

Why do we say in the Intensive. Observe अभिषिषिच्यति ॥

सेधतेर्गतौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेधतेः, गतौ ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गतौ वर्त्तमानस्य सेधतेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

113. The स् of the verb सेध is not changed to ष when the meaning is that of moving.

Thus अभिसेधयति गाः, परिसेधयति गाः ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when meaning to drive'? Observe शिष्यमकार्याम्पति-
वेधयति ॥ Here the sense is that of preventing or prohibiting.

प्रतिस्तब्धनिस्तब्धौ च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध-निस्तब्धौ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध निस्तब्ध इत्येतौ मूर्द्धन्यप्रतिपधाय निपात्येते ।

114. The words प्रतिस्तब्ध and निस्तब्ध are anomalous.

In these words the स is not changed to ष, though so required by VIII. 3. 67.

सोढः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोढः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सहित्यं सोढुतो गृह्यते तस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

115. The स् of सोढ form of the root सह is not changed to ष ॥

As परिसोढः, परिसोढुम्, परिसोढव्यम् ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 70.

Why do we say 'when सह assumes the form of सोढ' ॥ Observe परि-
पहते, विपहते ॥

स्तम्भुसिबुसहां चङि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्भु-सिबु-सहाम्, चङि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु सिबु सह इत्येतेषां चङि परतः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकः ॥ स्तम्भु सिबुसहां चाङ उपसर्गादिति वक्तव्यम् ।

116. The ष change does not take place in the reduplicated Aorist of the roots स्तम्भ्, सिब् and सह ॥

The root स्तम्भ required ष change by VIII. 3. 67, and the roots सिब and सह by VIII. 3. 70. Thus पर्यतस्तम्भत्, अभ्यतस्तम्भत् ॥ सिबः—पर्यसीपिवत्, न्यसीपिवत् ॥ सहः—पर्यसीपहत्, व्यसीपहत् ॥

Vart.—This prohibition refers to the **व** change that is caused by an Upasarga and not to the reduplicate change, as we have illustrated in the above example.

सुनोतेः स्यसनोः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुनोतेः, स्य-सनोः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति । स्यसनि च परतः ।

117. **सु** of **सु** (**सुनोति**) is not changed to **व** in the Future, Conditional and Desiderative.

Thus :—**अभिसोष्यति, परिसोष्यति, अभ्यसोष्यत्, पर्यसोष्यत् ॥**

What example will you give under Desiderative? **सुसूषति ॥** This is not a valid example, for by VIII. 3. 61, the reduplicate will not be changed here. Then we shall give the example **अभिसुसूषते ॥** This is not also a proper example, for it is governed by the restrictive rule of VIII. 3. 64. Then this is the example **अभिसुसूः, निसुसू** derived from the desiderative root **अभिसुसूषति** by the affix **क्विप् ॥** Here the desiderative affix **सन्** is not changed to **व** (VIII. 3. 61) and therefore the second **स** would have been changed to **व** as it comes after a reduplicate.

Why do we say before **स्य** and **सन् ॥** Observe **सुषाव ॥**

सदिष्वञ्जोः परस्य लिटि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदि-ष्वञ्जोः, परस्य, लिटि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सदि ष्वञ्जि इत्येतयोर्ज्ञान्वोर्लिटि परतः सकारस्य परस्य मूर्द्धन्यो न भवति ।

118. The **स्** of **सद्** and **ष्वञ्ज** after the reduplicate in the Perfect is not changed to **व ॥**

In the Perfect, when these words are reduplicated, there are two **स**'s, as **ससाद्** and **सस्वञ्ज ॥** After a preposition, the first **स** will be changed to **व**, but not so the second. Thus **अभिससाद्, परिससाद्, निषसाद्, विषसाद्, परिषस्वञ्जेः, परिषस्वजाते, परिषस्वजिरे, अभिषस्वजे ॥** The nasal of **स्वञ्ज** is elided though here, the **लिट्** affix is not **कित्**, because it ends in a compound vowel (VI. 4. 24), (I. 2. 5 and 6).

The word **स्वञ्ज** does not occur in the sūtra, but has been inserted in it by the author of Kāśikā from the following Vārtika :—**सदे लिटि प्रतिषेधे स्वञ्जे रूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥**

निव्यभिभ्योऽव्यवाये वा छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-वि-अभिभ्यः, अद्-व्यवाये, वा, छन्दसि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि अभि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरस्य सकारस्याऽव्यवाये छन्दसि विषये मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति वा ।

119. The **व** is optionally substituted in the Chhandas after the prepositions **नि, वि** and **अभि**, when the augment **अद्** intervenes.

Thus न्यपीदत् or न्यसीदत् पिता नः; व्यपीदत्; or व्यसीदत् पिता नः, अभ्यपीदत् or अभ्यसीदत् ॥

The anuvṛitti of सद् and स्वंज is not to be read into this sūtra. It is, in fact, a general rule and applies to verbs other than these two. As व्यस्तौत्, न्यष्टौत्, अभ्यष्टौत् or अभ्यस्तौत् ॥

ओ३म् ।

अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK EIGHTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

रवाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ रवाभ्याम्, नः, णः, समानपदे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति, समानपदस्थौ येनमिन्नमिन्नमिन्नौ भवतः ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋवर्णाच्चाति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. After र् and ऋ, the ए is the substitute of न्, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

These letters must be parts of the same pada or word, one being the 'occasion' for the application of the rule as regards the other. As आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम् ॥ So also after ष; as, कुष्णाति, पुष्णाति, मुष्णाति ॥

The letter ऋ is included in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras; for न् will be changed into ए when preceded by ऋ by rule 41 of this Chapter, as well.

Why do we say "when occurring in the same word?" Observe अग्नि-
र्नयति, वायुर्नयति ॥

Vārt :—So also after the letter ऋ ॥ As तिसृणाम्, षत्तसृणाम्, मातृणाम्, पितृणाम् ॥

This vārtika may well be dispensed with: because the र in the sūtra is the common *sound* र which we perceive both in र and ऋ; and so the र will denote both the vowel ऋ and the consonant र. See contra, VIII. 2. 42. Obj. But if even this be so, the letter ऋ has three parts, its first part is a vowel, in the middle is the र sound of a quarter mātrā, and a vowel sound at the end. This vowel-sound will *intervene* between the र-sound and the subsequent न्, and will prevent the application of the sūtra, hence the vārtika is valid?

Ans. This vowel-sound will be no intervention, because it will be included in the exception अद् of the next sūtra. Obj. The vowel-sound at the end of ऋ is not a *full* vowel of one mātrā, but is of half-mātrā, being only a fragment of ऋ, and hence is not included in the pratyāhāra अद्, it has no separate

स्थान or प्रयत्न or homogeneity with any vowel. Hence this vowel-sound will prevent the application of this rule. Ans. The ण change, however, does take place in spite of such intervention of a fragment of a letter, as we know from the jñāpaka of VIII. 4. 39. In the kshubhnādi list there we find नूनमन as an *exception*, implying that न is *generally* changed to ण after such a fragmentary interposition. Or we may take नूनमन as a jñāpaka, that after the letter न् also the ण change takes place.

अह्कुप्राङ्नुम्यवायेपि ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अह्-कु-पु-आङ्-नुम्-व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अह् कु पु आङ् नुम् इत्येतैर्व्यवायेपि रेफकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

2. The substitute ण takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or य्, व्, ह् or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the augment नुम् intervenes, causing separation.

The pratyāhāra अह् stands for vowels and the letters ह य व र. Thus करणम्, हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, युरुणा &c.

The कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अर्केण, मूर्खेण, शर्मेण, अर्घेण ॥

The पु means all the labials, e. g. हर्षेण, रेफेण, शर्मेण, चर्मणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आङ् means the particle आः e. g. पर्याणद्धम् from नह् (VIII. 2. 34) निराणद्धम् (cf VIII. 4. 14). The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अह् pratyāhāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. वृहणम्, वृहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is वृहति (VII. 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sūtra ?

The word नुम् in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like वृहणम् from वृह स्तृह हिंसायै ॥ Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvāra. Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into anusvāra, the rule does not apply. As मेन्वनम्, मेन्वनीयम् from इविः प्रीणनार्यः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अर्केण, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between र and न ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of य ॥

पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात्, संज्ञायाम्, अगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य गकारवर्जिताद् नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

3. So also, न् is replaced by ण, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that the first member does not end with the letter ग ॥

As **हुणसः**, **वाद्धीणसः** (a kind of antelope), **खरणसः**, **शूर्पणखा** ॥ See V. 4. 118 and IV. 1. 58.

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, **चर्मनासिका** ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न'? Observe; **अगयनम्** ॥

Some say, that this sūtra is a नियम or a restrictive rule, and not a विधि or original enunciation, so that the substitution takes place, only when the word is a *Name*, and not otherwise. A compound is one word or समानपद, though composed of two or more words or पद ॥ Therefore by VIII. 4. 11 the न will always be changed into ज when preceded by र or ख. But the present sūtra restricts its scope, to those cases only, when the compound denotes a *Name*, as not in **चर्मनासिका** ॥ The word पूर्वपद is a relative term and connotes an उत्तरपद ॥ The present sūtra therefore applies to those cases where the र or ख is in the पूर्वपद, and न occurs in the उत्तरपद ॥ It therefore, does not apply to ताद्धित words, nor when both the letters occur in the पूर्वपद ॥ In the case of a Taddhita, there is a पूर्वपद, but there is no properly speaking उत्तरपद ॥ Thus **खरपस्थापत्य** = **खारपायणः** (IV.1.99). Here the affix **अयन** is equivalent to **अपत्यं**, and **खरप** is the Pûrvapada. But the affix **अयन** not being a Pada, we cannot call it an *uttara pada*. Hence न will be changed into ज though **खारपायण** is not an Appellative but a generic term. So also **मानृभोगाय दितः** = **मानृभोगीणः** with **ख** affix. Similarly in **करणावियः**, the words र and न both occur in the Pûrvapada and are not affected by this rule, but by the general rule VIII. 4. 1. So also the proviso relating to न, only prohibits the change of न into ज, but does not prohibit the restrictive character of this sūtra.

According to others, this sūtra is an original enunciation or a Vidhi rule, and not a Niyama rule. They say that the word समानपद in VIII. 4. 1 is equivalent to **नित्यं पदं** i. e. a word integral and indivisible into component words. In other words, समानपद means, a 'simple-word'. The present sūtra therefore enunciates a new rule for a "compound-word". For in a compound or समास, there being a division of पूर्वपद and an उत्तरपद, we cannot say that a compound is a समानपद or indivisible word. Hence this sūtra is a विधि ॥

The sūtra should be thus divided:—**पूर्वपदान् संज्ञायाम्** one sūtra, and **अयः** another. So that every rule relating to ज change would be debarred with regard to न intervention.

वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकाशारिकाकोटराग्नेभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, पुरगा, मिश्रका-सिध्रका-शारिका-कोटराग्नेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामिति वर्त्तते । पुरगा मिश्रका सिध्रका शारिका कोटरा अग्ने इत्येतेभ्यः पूर्वपदेभ्य उत्तरस्य वननकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

4. The न of वन, is changed into ज, when preceded by the words puragâ, miśrakâ, sidhrakâ, śarikâ, koṭarâ, and

agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्वपदान् and संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra, are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरगावणम्, निम्नकावणम्, सिन्नकावणम्, कोटरावणम्, अभवणम् (II. 2. 31) शारिकावणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above is by VI. 3. 117. Though the word अभवणम् is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantādi list (II. 2. 31).

The substitution of ण for न would have taken place by the preceding rule. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word वन, shows that this is a restrictive or नियम rule. The न of वन is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and no other. Thus कुबेरवनम्, शतधारवनम्, अस्तिपत्रवनम् ॥

प्रनिरन्तःशरेक्षुप्लक्षाम्रकार्प्यखदिरपीयूषाभ्योसंज्ञायामपि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्र-निर-अन्तर्-शर-इक्षु-प्लक्ष-आम्र-कार्प्य-खदिर-पीयूषाभ्यः संज्ञायां, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्र निर अन्तर् शर इक्षु प्लक्ष आम्र कार्प्य खदिर पीयूषा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वननकारस्य संज्ञायाम्
संज्ञायामपि णकारादेशो भवति ।

5. The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, śara, ikshu, plaksha, āmra, kārshya, khadira, and pīyūkshā.

Thus प्रवणे यष्टम् ; निर्वणे प्रतिधीयते, अन्तर्वणे, शरवणम्, इक्षुवणम्, प्लक्षवणम्, आम्रवणम्, कार्प्यवणम्, खदिरवणम् and पीयूषावणम् ॥

The words प्रवणम् and निर्वणम् are प्राक्- compounds. अन्तर्वणम् is an Avyayībhāva in the sense of a case-affix. The rest are Genitive compounds.

विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ओषधि-वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिवाचि यत्पूर्वपदं वनस्पतिवाचि तत्स्थानिनिष्ठादुत्तरस्य वननकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति
विभाषा ।

वार्तिकः ॥ द्व्यक्षरद्वयक्षरेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ इरिकादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

Kārika फली वनस्पतिर्ज्ञेयो वृक्षाः पुष्पकलोपगाः ।

ओषधः फलपाकान्ता लता शुल्माश्च वीरुधः ॥

6. The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree.

When the pūrvapada is a word denoting ओषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ This is an optional rule. Thus :—दूर्वावनम् or दूर्वावणम् ;

सूर्वावणम् or सूर्वावनम् ॥ Here सूर्वा and सूर्वा are names of ओषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीष-
वनं or शिरीषवनम् ; बहरीवनं or बहरीवनं ॥

Vart. :—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in देवदारुवनम् ; भद्रवारुवनम् ॥

Vart. :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words हारका &c. As हरिकावनम्, तिमिरकावनम् ॥

Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति also ; yet in this sūtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

Kṛtika. :—Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, ओषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुधः ॥

अहोऽदन्तात् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, अदन्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्तं यत्पूर्वपदं तत्स्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्याहो नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

7. The ण is the substitute of न of अहन्, when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change.

Thus पूर्वाहणः "fore-noon" ; अपराहणः "after-noon".

Why do we say "ending in अ" ? Observe, निरहः, दुरहः ॥

The word अह् is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88. The word अह् being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus वीर्याह्नी शरत् ॥ The word अह् in the sūtra is in the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वनं (VIII. 4. 4), वाहनं (VIII. 4. 8), यानं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samāsānta affix टच् (V. 4. 91), and अह् substitution by V. 4. 88. The word वीर्याह्नी is a Bahuvrīhi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix टच् does not apply to it. The feminine ङीप् is added by IV. 1. 28, there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI. 4. 134.

वाहनमाहितात् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहनम्, आहितात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहितवाचि यत्पूर्वपदं तत्स्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य वाहननकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

8. The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when the letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इक्षुवाहनम् 'a sugar-cart'. शरवाहनम् "a reed-cart". वर्धवाहनम् 'a hay-cart'.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called आहित ॥

Why do we say "denoting the thing carried". Observe दाक्षिवाहनम् "a vehicle belonging to Dākshi".

The word वाहन is formed by adding ल्युट् to वह्, and lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipātana of this sūtra.

पानं देशे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पानम्, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाननकारस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य देशाभिधाने णकार आवेशो भवति ।

9. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains a letter causing change; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान is formed by the affix ल्युट् III. 3. 113. Thus क्षीरपाणा उशीनराः = क्षीरपाणे येषां 'the milk-drinking Uśīnaras'. सुरपाणाः प्राच्याः 'the wine-drinking Prāchyas'. सौवीरपाणा बाह्लीकाः 'the sauvīra-drinking Bāhlikas'. कषायपाणा गान्धाराः &c.

Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe दक्षिपानं the drink of the Dākshis.

The words उशीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

वा भावकरणयोः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भाव-करणयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे करणे च यः पानशब्दस्तदीयस्य नकारस्य णकार आवेशो भवति वा पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वाचिकम् ॥ वाप्रकरणे गिरिनद्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ।

10. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपानम् "drinking of milk" कषायपाणम् or कषायपानम् 'drinking of kashāya'. सुरपाणम् or सुरपानम् &c are examples of भाव or condition.

Similarly क्षीरपाणः of क्षीरपानः कंसः 'a vessel for drinking milk' This is an example of करण or instrument.

Vārt :— Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c. Thus गिरिनदी or गिरिणदी; चक्रनदी or चक्रणदी, चक्रनितम्बा or चक्रिणितम्बा ॥

प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिषु च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातिपदिकान्त-नुम्-विभक्तिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेति वर्त्तते । प्रातिपदिकान्ते नुम्विभक्तौ च यो नकारस्तस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकार आवेशो भवति ।

वाचिकम् ॥ युवादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

11. Optionally ण is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prātipadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).

Thus, to take the case a प्रतिपदिकान्त' first. माषवापिणौ or माषवापिनौ from माषवापिन् 'māsha-sowing' formed by णिने under III. 2. 81.

To take the example of a नुम् augment माषवापाणि or माषवापा नि, ब्रीहिवापाणि or ब्रीहिवापानि nom. pl. neut. The. augment नुम् is here added by VII. 1. 72 from माषान् वपयन्ति = माषवाप with कर्मणि अण्, the plural शि is added by VII. 1. 20, and then नुम् ॥

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, माषवापेण or माषवापेन, ब्रीहिवापेण or ब्रीहिवापेन ॥

* The word प्रतिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prātipadika'. But here it means 'final in a prātipadika which is a second member, of compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गभां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिनी if the word is derived from गर्गभगः 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word मातृ-भोगीणः 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place.

The word माषवापिणी or णी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim :—(II. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदानां कृत्रिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माषवापिन् (माष + वापिन्), and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prātipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly नुम् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the *full* compound word.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of the words युवा &c. As आर्ययूना (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), क्षत्रिययूना ॥ प्रपञ्चानि is a gati-samas, वीर्षाङ्गी शत्रु ॥

एकाजुत्तरपदे णः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाच्, उत्तरपदे, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाजुत्तरपदं यस्य स एकाजुत्तरपदः । तस्मिन्नेकाजुत्तरपदसमासे प्रतिपदिकान्तनुविभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

12. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prātipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Thus वृषहणौ and वृषहणः 'the Vṛitra-killer'. क्षीरपाणि "Drinkers of milk": सुरापाणि 'drinkers of wine': being examples of नुम् VII. 3. 88, क्षीरपेण and सुरपेण are examples of case-terminations.

Why the letter ण is repeated in this sūtra, while its anuvṛitti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional rule, but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛitti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

कुमति च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गवाति चोत्तरपदे प्रातिपदिकान्तदुम्बिभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्यान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारोद्देशो भवति ।

13. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prâtipadika, or be the augment नुम्, or occur in a vibhakti.

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class क्, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As वस्त्रयुगिणौ, वस्त्रयुगिणः, स्वर्गकानिणौ, वृषगानिणौ ॥ नुम्:—वस्त्रयुगाणि, खरयुगाणि ॥ विभक्तिः—वस्त्रयुगेण, खरयुगेण ॥

The word वस्त्रयुगिणौ is a compound of वस्त्र with युगिन् (the affix इनि is added first to युग and then the word so formed is compounded with vastra). Thus the न् becomes प्रातिपदिकान्त i.e. it becomes the final of a Nominal-stem, which stands as a second member in a compound.

उपसर्गादसमासेऽपि णोपदेशस्य ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, अ-समासे, अपि, णोपदेशस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण उपदेशे यस्यासौ णोपदेशः । णोपदेशस्य धातोर्यो नकारः तस्य उपसर्गस्यान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारोद्देशो भवति असमासेऽपि सन्नासेऽपि ।

14. Of a root which has ण in its original enunciation, when it comes after a cause of such change standing in an upasarga, even though the word be not a samâsa, the न is changed into ण ॥

The word णोपदेश means a root which is enunciated in the Dhâtupâṭha with an initial ण ॥ Thus प्रणमति 'he bows'. परिणमति, प्रणायकः 'a leader' परिणायकः &c.

Why do we say "after an Upasarga"? Observe प्रणायकः=प्रगता नायका अस्माद् देशात् 'a country without a leader'. Here the word प्र is not an upasarga, but a mere nipâta. See I. 4. 57, 58 and 59. In fact, प्र is upasarga here with regard to गत understood, and not with regard to नी ॥

Why do we say "even when it is not a compound?" Because by context, the anuvṛitti of the word पूर्वपद, which is current throughout this sub-

division, would have been understood in this sūtra also, and the rule would have applied to samāśas only, for there only we have pūrvapada. By using the word असमासे it is shown that the adhikāra of pūrvapada ceases, and the rule applies to non-compounds also where there is no पूर्वपद ॥

Why do we say "having ण in Upadeśa"? Observe प्रनर्दति, प्रनर्दितुम्, प्रनर्दकः ॥ For the root नर्द is recited in Dhātupāṭha with न ॥ There are eight such roots नर्द, नाद, नाप्, नाध, नन्द, नक्क, नृ, नृत् ॥ See VI. 1. 65.

हिनुमीना ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिनु-मीना, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिनु मीना इत्येतयोस्पर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

15. The न of हिनु and मीना is changed into ण, when coming after an upasarga containing in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रहिणोति, प्रहिणुतः, प्रमीणाति, प्रमीणीतः ॥ The root हि belongs to Svādi class of verbs and takes the vikaraṇa नु technically हुनु; and the root मी belongs to Kryādi class which takes the vikaraṇa णा ॥ In the sūtra the verbs are shown with the vikaraṇas affixed. Under certain circumstances the forms of the vikaraṇa is changed from नु to नी and ना to नी, but the rule still applies, because the substitute of an अच् or vowel is like the principal. See I. 1. 57.

आनि लोट् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनि, लोट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादिति वर्तते । आनीयतस्य लोडादेशस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

16. The न of आनि, the affix of the Imperative, 1st Person, is changed into ण when it follows a letter competent to cause such a change standing in an Upasarga.

The word आनि is the termination of the Imperative. Thus प्रवपानि, प-रिवपानि, प्रयाणि, परियाणि ॥

Why do we say 'the Imperative'? Observe प्रवपानि मांसानि ॥ Here आनि is the neuter plural termination, and the word means प्रकृष्टा वपा येषु, तानि ॥

According to Padamanjari, the employment of the word लोट् in the sūtra is redundant. For without it also आनि would have meant the Imperative affix, and not the Neuter termination, on the maxim of अयर्बद्धग्रहणे &c. Moreover in the noun प्रवपानि, प्र is not an upasarga at all, on the maxim यत् क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादु-स्तं प्रति गति-उपसर्ग-संज्ञे भवतः ॥

नेर्गद-नद-पत-पद-धु-मा-स्यति-हन्ति-याति-चाति-द्राति-प्साति-वपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-देग्धिषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, गद-नद-पत-पद-धु-मा-स्यति-हन्ति-याति-चाति-द्राति-प्साति-वपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-देग्धिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरित्येतस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति गद नद पत पद धु मा स्यति हन्ति याति चाति द्राति प्साति वपति वहति शाम्यति चिनोति देग्धि इत्येतेषु परतः ।

17. The ण is the substitute of न् of the prefix नि, following a cause for such change standing in an upasarga, when these verbs follow, gad 'to speak', nad 'to be happy', pat 'to fall', pad 'to go', the ghu verbs, mât 'to measure', sho 'to destroy', han 'to kill', yâ 'to go', vâ 'to blow', drâ 'to flee', psâ 'to eat', vap 'to weave', vah 'to bear', sam 'to be tranquil', chi 'to collect', and dih 'to anoint'.

Thus

गद्, प्राणिगदति, परिणिगदति	नद्, प्राणिनदति, परिणिनदति
पत्, प्राणिपतति, परिणिपतति,	पद्, प्राणिपद्यते, परिणिपद्यते
घुः, प्राणिदधाति, परिणिदधाति, प्राणिदधाति, परिणिदधाति	
माङ्, प्राणिमिमीते, परिणिमिमीते	मेङ्, प्राणिमयते, परिणिमयते

Ishti:—By the word मा in the sūtra, both verbs माङ् and मेङ् are to be taken and not the roots मी or मि or ना माने, for they also take the form मा by VI. 1. 50.

स्यति प्राणिस्यति, परिणिस्यति	हन्ति प्राणिहन्ति, परिणिहन्ति
याति प्राणियाति, परिणियाति	वाति प्राणिवाति, परिणिवाति
व्राति प्राणिव्राति, परिणिव्राति	प्साति प्राणिप्साति, परिणिप्साति

The last five roots belong to Adâdi class.

वपति प्राणिवपति, परिणिवपति	वहति प्राणिवहति, परिणिवहति
शाम्यति प्राणिशाम्यति, परिणिशाम्यति (VII. 3. 74)	
चिनाति प्राणिचिनाति, परिणिचिनाति	देन्धि प्राणिदेन्धि, परिणिदेन्धि

Ishti:—The above change takes place even when the augment अद् intervenes. As प्रणदगदन्, परिणदगदन् ॥

The roots स्यति &c, are exhibited in their declined form in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to यङ् लृक् form of these roots (VII. 1. 6).

शेषे विभाषाकखादावपान्तउपदेशे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा, अकखादौ, अपान्ते, उपदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेरिति वर्तते उपसर्गादिति च । अककारखकारादिरपकारान्तश्च उपदेशो यो धातुः शेषस्तस्मिन्परत उपसर्गस्थानिमादुत्तरस्य नेर्नकारस्य विभाषा णकार आदेशो भवति ।

18. In the remaining verbs, optionally the न् of नि is replaced by ण, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change; provided that, in the original enunciation, the verb has not an initial क् or ख, nor ends with च ॥

The words नेः and उपसर्गात् are understood in the sūtra. The word शेषे means verbs other than those mentioned last. Thus प्राणिपचति or प्राणिपचति, प्राणिभिनत्ति or प्राणिभिनत्ति ॥

Why do we say अकश्चात् “not beginning with क or ख”? Observe प्रणि करोति, प्रणिखादति ॥ Here there is no change.

Why do we say अपान्तः “not ending in ष”? Observe प्रणिपिनष्टि ॥

Why do we say उपदेशे “in original enunciation”? So that the prohibition may apply to forms like प्रणिचकार, प्रणिचखाद्, प्रणिपेक्षति (VIII. 2. 41). Here चकार &c, do not begin with क or ख nor does विष् end with ष् but with क् (VIII. 2. 41) but in the Dhātupāṭha the verb कृ and खद् begin with क and ख and विष् ends with ष्, and hence the rule will not apply. So also in प्रणिवेष्टा and प्रणिवेक्ष्यति from the root विष् ॥ Here though the verb now ends with ष by VIII. 2. 36, yet in the original enunciation or Dhātupāṭha, it ends with ष ॥

अनितेः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनितेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनितेर्नकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

19. The न of the verb अन् ‘to breathe’, is changed into ण, when preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change.

Thus प्र+अनिति=प्राणिति ‘he breathes’. पराणिति ॥ For इद् augment, see VII. 2. 76.

अन्तः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्थानितिनकारस्य पठन्ते वर्तमानस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

20. The न of अन् is changed into ण, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change, provided it occurs at the end of a pada.

As हे प्राण् ! हे पराण् ! ॥ This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 37 *sub*, by which final न् in a pada is not changed into ण ॥ The word अन्तः in the sūtra is to be understood to be equivalent to पदान्तः, and the rule applies when the word is in the vocative case.

According to some अन्तः is taken to be a part of the last sūtra, and has the meaning of ‘proximity’. That is the न is changed to ण, if the र is not separated from the न् by more than one letter. Therefore there is no change in परि+अनिति=पर्यनिति ॥ In this view, another अन्त should be taken for the sake of final न्, in हे प्राण् ॥

According to others the form पर्यनिति is valid, and they do not connect अन्तः with the last sūtra.

The word प्राण् is a क्विप् formed word, and the न् final is not elided in the Vocative Singular because of the prohibition of VIII. 2. 8 ; in every other place, when the न् is padānta, it would be dropped ; and therefore the illustration is given with Vocative singular, which alone satisfies the requirements of this sūtra.

उभौ साभ्यासस्य ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभौ, साभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साभ्यासस्यानितेरुपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्योभयोरनकारयोरनकार आदेशो भवति ।

21. Both the न s are changed into ण in the reduplicated forms of the verb अन्, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus in the Desiderative प्राणिणिषति and Aorist of the Causative प्राणिणन्, and so also पराणिणिषति and पराणिणन् ॥

If the maxim पूर्वचासिद्धीयमद्विचने be not applied here; then we have the following dilemma in, प्राणि + स + ति ॥ Here the affix सन् requires reduplication, and the present sūtra requires ण change of न ॥ The जल्व being asiddha, the reduplication being made first, we have प्राणिनि + स + ति, and then the reduplicate ण intervenes between the cause प्र and the root-न् of नि, and so this न would not be changed to ण ॥ If however the above maxim be applied, we first apply the जल्व rule, as प्राणि + स + ति, and then reduplicate नि; and we get the form प्राणिणिषति even without this sūtra.

If we could get this form by the application of the above maxim, where is the necessity of the present sūtra? The sūtra is necessary in order to indicate that the above maxim is *anitya* or not of universal application. And because it is *anitya*, that the form औजडत् is evolved by reduplicating हन् (See VIII. 2. 1).

हन्तेरपूर्वस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, अत्, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारपूर्वस्य हन्तिनकारस्य उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

22. The न, when preceded by अ, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रहृण्यते, परिहृण्यते, प्रहणनम् परिहणनम् ॥

Why do we say अत्पूर्वस्य 'when preceded by अ'? When अ is elided, the change does not take place. As प्रप्रन्ति, परिप्रन्ति (VI. 4. 98, and VIII. 3. 54).

Why do we say अत् "preceded by short अ"? Observe पश्यानि and प्रचानि, the Aorist of हन् by the affix चिण् (III. 1. 60) प्रहन् + चिण् = प्रपन् + चिण् (VIII. 3. 54) = प्रचान् + चिण् (VIII. 2. 116) = प्रचाति 'he killed'. Here न being preceded by the long आ is not changed.

वमोर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वमोः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारमकारयोः परतो हन्तिनकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकारादेशो भवति ।

23. Optionally when व or म follow, the न of हान is changed to ण, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रहृण्वः, परिहृण्वः, or प्रहन्वः and परिहन्वः, प्रहृण्मः or प्रहन्मः परिहृण्मः or परिहन्मः ॥

This sūtra enjoins an option in certain cases, where it would have been obligatory by the last rule.

अन्तरदेशे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्, अदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःशब्दादुत्तरस्य हन्तिनकारस्यात्पूर्वस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

24. The न preceded by short अ of the root हन् is changed into ण, when the root follows the upasarga अन्तर्, and the word does not mean a country.

Thus अन्तर्हण्यते and अन्तर्हणनं ॥

Why do we say "when not meaning a country अदेशः?" Observe अन्तर्हन्ती देशः ॥

The phrase अन्तर्पूर्वस्य "preceded by short अ" of sūtra 22 ante, is to be read into this sūtra also. Observe, अन्तर्हन्ति ॥

Why do we say "short अ?" See, अन्तरवानि ॥ The word antar is an upasarga for the purposes of ण change, by the vārtika under I. 4. 65; therefore, it would have caused the ण change by VIII. 4. 22. The present sūtra is made, to show that the change takes place only then, when it does not mean a country.

अयनं च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयनम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरदेशादिति वर्त्तते । अयननकारस्य चान्तः शब्दादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

25. The न of अयन is changed to ण, when preceded by the word अन्तर्, and the word does not denote a country.

Thus अन्तरयणं शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say "not denoting a country"? Observe अन्तरयनो देशः ॥ This ण change would have taken place by VIII. 4. 29, this special sūtra is for आदेश purposes. The word अयन is formed by ल्युट् added to अय or इण् ॥

छन्दस्युदवग्रहात् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, ऋतु-अवग्रहात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तावग्रहात्पूर्वपदादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

26. In the Chhandas, न of a second term is changed into ण, when the prior term ends with a short ऋ even when there is an *avagraha* or hiatus between the two terms.

In the Veda, न् becomes ण्, after a ऋ, after which in Padapāṭha, the word appertaining to it is divided. Thus in Pada-pāṭha the words नृमणाः &c, are separated, and are read as नृ, मणाः ॥ The word अवग्रहात् = विच्छिन्न पठ्यते, as in Pada-pāṭha. ऋदवग्रहात् means 'after a short ऋ which is an avagraha'. The ऋ here, of course, means 'a word ending in ऋ', because ऋ alone cannot be a pūrva-pada. The णत्व took place during saṁhitā, and in Pada reading this ण would not have remained, hence this sūtra.

Why have we used the word avagraha in the sūtra? Because we have already said that the word saṁhitā governs all sūtras of this chapter. So the न is changed to ण in the Saṁhitā state in these; and the ण is retained, when

in the state of avagraha. The word avagraha in the sūtra indicates the scope of the rule. The न is changed to ण after that क् only, which is capable of avagraha, namely that क् which stands at the end of a word (pada), and not that which is in the body of a word. Thus in नृमणाः, पितृयाणम्, the क् is capable of avagraha, as it is at the end of a word नृ or पितृ; but when it is not at the end of a word, it can never become avagraha, and will not produce the ण change.

The word पूर्वपदान् is understood here. The word अवग्रह means a hiatus or separation. Thus पितृ याणम्, नृ मणाः ॥ Here क् is अवग्रह ॥ The change of न into ण is effected ordinarily then, when the terms, one containing the cause, and the other न, are in संहिता or conjunction. For the rules of Sandhi and the rules like these can apply only to words in sahitā. The present rule is an exception to it, and here, even when the words are not in संहिता, but there is an actual hiatus between the two, the change still takes place. The word संहिता of VIII. 2. 108, exerts regulating influence upto the end of the Book.

नञ् धातुस्योरुपुभ्यः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, धातुस्य, उरु, पुभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ् इत्येतस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति धातुस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्योरुपुभ्यः नञ् इत्यस्य विषये ।

27. In the Chhandas, the न of (the Pronoun) नञ् is changed into ण, when it comes after a root having a र or ष or after the words उरु and पु (सु) ॥

Thus अग्ने रक्षाणः (Rig VII. 15. 13) 'O Agni! protect us'. शिक्षा णो अस्मिन् (Rig. VII. 32. 26) 'Teach us this'. उरुः—उरुणस्त्वपि (Rig. VIII. 75. 11) पु—अभीपुणः सखीनाम् (Rig IV. 31. 3). ऊर्ध्व ऊपुणः ऊतये (Rig. I. 36. 13).

The word नञ् is here the pronoun नञ्, which is the substitute, in certain cases, of अस्मद् (VIII. 1. 21) and does not mean here the नञ् substitute of नासिका ॥ In the next sūtra, however, both नञ् are taken. धातुस्य means 'that which exists in a dhātu', namely र् and ष् when occurring in a root. The word उरु means the word-form उरु; and पु means सुप्, and is exhibited with ष-change. It does not mean the affix सु of the Locative Plural. Therefore, not here इन्द्रो धत्ता शूरेषु नः ॥ The word रक्षा is the 2nd Person singular, Imperative, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 135. The root शिक्ष् has the sense of शान in the Veda. कृधी is 2nd Person sg. Imperative of कृ (VI. 4. 102), the visarga of नः is changed to स् by VIII. 3. 50. In अभीपु there is lengthening by VI. 3. 134: so also in ऊपुणः &c.

उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नसो नकारस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

28. The न of नञ् is changed diversely into ण, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणः शुद्धः; प्रणसः प्रणो राजा ॥ The change does not sometime take, place, as, प्र नो दुञ्चतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणसं दुर्द्धं ॥ The word दुर्द्धासि does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रणसं दुर्द्धम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose'. See V. 4. 119.

This is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गादनोत्तरः "after an Upasarga, the न of नस् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into ण्". There being several objections to this rule, the above rule is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāṣya. For ओत्परः may have two meanings:—(1) ओत्कारात् परः, that which comes after ओ; (2) ओत्कारः परोऽस्मात् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ण change would be required in प्रनो दुञ्चतं; in the second case, there should be no ण change in प्रणोवनिर्व्वत्ता ॥ In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः, so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

कृत्यचः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृति, अच ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यो यो नकारो ऽच उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारदेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकः ॥ कृत्यस्य णत्वे निर्व्विण्णस्योपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

29. The न् of a Kṛit affix, preceded by a vowel, is changed into ण, when it follows an upasarga having the cause of change.

The following are the specific Kṛit affixes in which this change takes place :—अन (यु), मान (शानच् &c VII. 2. 82), अनीय, (III. 1. 96) अनि, (III. 3. 111) इनि (णिनि III. 2. 78 &c) and the substitutes of निष्ठा (VIII. 2. 42) ॥

Thus

अनः प्रयाणम्, परिमाणम्, प्रमाणम्, परियाणम् ॥ मानः प्रयायमाणम्, परियायमाणम् ॥

अनीय प्रयाणीयम्, परियाणीयम् ॥

अनि अप्रयाणि, अपरियाणि ॥

इनि प्रयायिन्, प्रयायिणौ, परियायिन्, परियायिणौ

निष्ठादेशः प्रहीणः, परिहीणः, प्रहीणवाङ् परिहीणवान् ॥ Long ई by VI. 4. 66.

Why do we say अचः 'preceded by a vowel?' Observe प्रभुयः, परिभुयः the Nishṭhā of भुञ् ॥ It is thus formed: भुञ् + क्त = भुञ् + त = भुञ् + न (VII. 2. 45, the root भुञ् is read as भुञो कौटिल्ये in the dhatupāṭha, having an indicative ओ, thus giving scope to the rule). भुञ् + न = भुण् + न (VIII. 2. 30) = भुप्र ॥

Vart.—The word निर्व्विण्णः should be enumerated in this place. As निर्व्विण्णोऽस्मि खलसंगेन ॥ निर्व्विण्णाहमन्नवासेन ॥

णेर्विभाषा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्ताद्यो विहितः कृत्यस्य तत्स्थस्य नकारोपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा णकारदेशो भवति

30. The **न्** of a Kṛit-affix ordained after a causative verb (**ण्यन्त**), is optionally changed to **ण्**, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus **प्रयापणम्** or **प्रयापनम्**, **परियापणम्** or **परियापनम्**, **प्रयाप्यमाणम्** or **प्रयाप्यमानम्**, **प्रयापणीयम्** or **प्रयापनीयम्**, **अप्रयापणिः** or **अप्रयापनिः**, **प्रयापिणौ** or **प्रयापिनौ** ॥

Why have we used the word **विहितं** 'ordained' in explaining the sūtra? Because the change takes place, even where the **कृत्** affix does not follow directly after the affix **णि**; where a third affix such as **यक्** intervenes. As **प्रयाप्यमाणम्** ॥ The **णे**: being in the ablative, under the ordinary rule of interpretation (I. I. 72), the kṛit-affix should come immediately after **णि**.

हलश्चेत्प्रधात् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, इच्-उपधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादियौ धातुरिष्टपधस्तस्मात्परो यः कृत्यत्ययः तस्यस्य नकारस्याच उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्याभिनि-
त्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा णकारादेशो भवति ।

31. A kṛit-affix, coming after a verb, which begins with a consonant and has a penultimate **इच्** vowel, changes optionally its **न्**, which is preceded by a vowel, into **ण्**, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

The phrase **कृत्यचः** is understood here. Thus **प्रकोपणम्** or **प्रकोपनम्**, **परिकोपणम्** or **परिकोपनम्** ॥

Why do we say **हलः** 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe **प्रेहणम्** and **प्राहणम्** where the change is obligatory, under VIII. 4. 29. These are from **इह** **वेद्यायाम्** and **ऊह वितर्के** ॥

Why do we say **इष्टपधात्** 'having a penultimate **इच्** vowel'? Observe **प्रवपणम्** and **परिवपणम्**; no option.

By the rule **कृत्यचः** the change was obligatory, this rule makes it optional.

The **न्** of the kṛit-affix must come after a vowel, otherwise there will be no change. See **परिशुभ्रः**:

The word **हलः** in the sūtra should be interpreted as **हलदिः**, and not as ordinarily "after what ends in **हल्**" ॥ For an **इष्टपधा** verb implies that it ends with a consonant, and so the employment of the word **हलः** in the text would have been useless had it meant **हलन्तात्** ॥

इजादेः सनुमः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इजादेः, सनुमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादेः सनुमो हलन्ताद्धातोर्विहितो यः कृत्यत्यस्य नकारस्योपसर्गस्याभिनित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारो भवति ।

32. A kṛit-affix ordained after a verb beginning with an **इच्** vowel, having the augment **नुम्** in it, and ending

with a consonant, changes its **न** into **ण**, when preceded by an upasarga having in it the cause of change.

The word **हलः** of the last sūtra is understood here. But contrary to the construction put upon it in the last sūtra, here it means **हलन्तात्**, by the natural rule of construction as given in I. 1. 72. We must interpret it so here, because it is impossible for an **इजादि** root to commence with a **हल्**; while to have done so in the last aphorism would have been redundant.

Thus **प्रेङ्खणम्**, **परेङ्खणम्** from **इखि** गत्यर्थः; the **नुम्** is added because it is **इदित्** ॥ **प्रेङ्गणम्**, **परेङ्गणम्**, **प्रोम्भणम्**, **परोम्भणम्** ॥ In **उम्भ पूरणे** the nasal is part of the root. The rule will not apply to **प्रेन्वनम्**, because **नुम्** here means the anusvāra generally (VIII. 4. 2) though the change would have been valid by the general rule, (VIII. 4. 29) this sūtra makes a **नियम** or restriction. That is, only in the case of **इजादि सनुम्** verbs the change takes place, not in other **सनुम्** verbs. Thus **प्रमङ्गनम्**, **परिमङ्गनम्** from the root **मणि** सर्वणे ॥

This rule does not affect rule VIII. 4. 30, relating to **प्यन्त** verbs, for those verbs cannot be said to end with a consonant. Moreover, we have used the word **विहितः** in explaining the sūtra, in order to indicate this fact, that the **kṛit**-affix must be *ordained* after a consonant-ending verb. In the case of causative verbs, the **kṛit**-affix is *ordained* after a vowel-ending (**णि**) verb, and the vowel is elided *after* the adding of the affix. So that *before* the adding of the affix, the verb did not end in a consonant.

वा निस्निक्षनिन्दाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, निस्-निक्ष-निन्दाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादिति वर्त्तते । निस् निक्ष निन्द इत्येतेषां नकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकारादेशो भवति ।

33. The **न** of **निस् निक्ष** and **निन्द** is changed to **ण** optionally, when preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change.

Thus **प्रणिसनम्** or **प्रनिसनम्**, **प्रणिक्षणम्** or **प्रनिक्षणम्**, **प्रणिन्दनम्** or **प्रनिन्दनम्** ॥

These verbs are written with **ण** in the Dhātupāṭha, and therefore by rule VIII. 4. 14 ante, the change of **न** into **ण** would have been obligatory. The present sūtra makes it optional. The root **णिसि** means 'to kiss', **णिक्षि** रोषणे, and **णिवि** कुत्सायाम् ॥

न भाभूपूकमिगमिप्यायिवेपाम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भा-भू-पू-कमि-गमि-प्यायि-वेपाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भा शैतो भू सत्तायाम् पू पयने कनि कान्तौ गमि गतौ प्यायि वृद्धौ वेप कम्पने इत्येतेषां उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य कृत्स्थस्य नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

वात्तिकम् ॥ प्यन्तानां भादीनामुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

34. The **न** of a **kṛit**-affix is not changed to **ण**, though preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change,

when the affix is added to the following verbs: भा 'to shine', भू 'to be', पू 'to purify', कम् 'to be brilliant', गम् 'to go', व्याधि 'to increase', वेप 'to shake'.

This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 29. Thus :—

भा प्रभानम्, परिभानम् भू प्रभवन्, परिभवनम् पू प्रपवनम्, परिपवनम् ॥

Ishti:—The verb पूम् is to be taken and not the verb पूङ् ॥ In the case of the latter the change is obligatory, as, प्रपवणं सोमस्य ॥

कम् प्रकनन्, परिकनन् ॥ गम् प्रगमन्, परिगमन् ॥

व्याधि प्रप्यायन्, परिप्यायन् ॥ वेप् प्रवेपन्, परिवेपन् ॥

Vārt:—The above roots, even when in the Causative, do not change the न of their kṛit-affix. As प्रभापनम्, परिभापनम् ॥

धातुपदान्तात् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धात्, पदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारात्पदान्तादुत्तरस्य णकारस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

35. After a ष final in a Pada, the न् is not changed to ण् ॥

Thus निष्पानम्, दुष्पानम्; the visarga is changed to ष here by VIII. 3. 41. The rule VIII. 4. 29 is debarred. सर्षिष्पानम् (is a genitive compound contra II. 2. 14). So also द्युष्पानम् (II. 1. 32). The ष is in these two by VIII. 3. 45, and VIII. 4. 10 is debarred.

Why do we say "धात् after a ष?" Observe निर्णयः ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe कुष्णाति, पुष्णाति ॥ The word पदान्त is equivalent to पदे भन्त or Locative Tatpurusha; and does not mean final of a Pada. Therefore the rule does not apply here. सुसर्षिष्केण (ins. sg.) सुयस्युष्केण ॥ Here the क् is added by V. 4. 154. द्योभनं सर्षिस्स्य = सुसर्षिष्क (a Bahuvrīhi). The ष is by VIII. 3. 39. Before the affix क्, the word सुसर्षिष् is a Pada (I. 4. 17), and thus ष् (ष्) is final of a Pada: but it is not final of a preceding member followed by another Pada. The rule, in fact, applies to compounds, the ष being final in the first term.

नशोः धान्तस्य ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशोः, धान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशोः षकारान्तस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

36. ण् is not the substitute of the verb नश 'to destroy', when ending in ष् ॥

When the ष is changed to ण् in नश्, the न of नश् is not changed. Thus प्रनष्टः, परिनष्टः ॥ The नुष् ordained by VII. 1. 60, is elided by VI. 4. 24, and ण् changed ष् by VIII. 2. 36.

Why do we say धान्तस्य? Observe प्रणश्यति, परिणश्यति ॥ The word भन्त is taken in order that the prohibition may apply to words like प्रनष्टुक्ष्यति, which did end with ष् though the ष has been changed by other rules, and is no longer visible. For here the ष् of नश् is changed to ण् by VIII. 2. 36, and then this ण् is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 41; and the नुष् is added by VII. 1. 60.

पदान्तस्य ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तो यो नकारस्तस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

37. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.

Thus वृक्षान्, प्रक्षान्, अरीन्, गिरीन् ॥

पदव्यवायेपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदव्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेन व्यवायेपि सति निमित्तनिमित्तनोर्नकारस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पदव्यवाये ऽतद्धितइति वक्तव्यम् ।

38. The न् is not changed to ण् when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न् ॥

The word पदव्यवाय is a compound meaning पदेन व्यवाय 'separated by a Pada'. Thus माषकुम्भवापेन, चतुरङ्गयोगेन, प्रावनद्धम्, पर्यवनद्धम्, प्रगान्नयामः, परिगान्नयामः ॥ Here the Padas कुम्भ, अङ्ग, भव &c, intervening, the change does not take place.

Vārt:—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like आर्द्रगोमयेण, शुष्कगोमयेण ॥ Here गो takes the affix मयद् by IV. 3. 145, and the word गो is a Pada by I. 4. 17, and it intervenes between मय and the first word. The author of Mahābhāṣya however does not approve of this Vārtika. According to him the word पदव्यवाय means पदे व्यवाय ॥

क्षुब्नादिषु च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुब्नादिषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुब्ना इत्येवमादिषु शब्देषु नकारस्य णकारदेशो न भवति ।

39. The ण् is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c.

The 'not' of sūtra 34 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुब्नाति, so also in क्षुब्नीतः, क्षुब्नन्ति, the substitutes of अच् being like the principal I. 1. 57.

So नृनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, and VIII. 4. 26.

नन्दिन्, नन्दन and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दनः, गिरिनगरः ॥

The word नृन् when taking the Intensive affix यङ्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥

वृत्तु, वृमोति also belongs to this class. नर्तन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3. So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14. शरनिवेशः, शरनिवास, शराग्निः, इर्मानूपः ॥ All these are Names.

After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः, आचार्यानी ॥

हरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर and हरि and कर्मर followed by वन do not cause change in the न् of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 क्षुब्ना (क्षुब्नाति), 2 नृनमनः 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्दन, 5 नगर, एतावन्तत्परवानि संज्ञायां प्र योजयन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दनः, 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृतिर्यङि प्रयोजयति, नरीनृत्यते; 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन,

12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्पुत्तरपदानि प्र योजयन्ति, 17 परितर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेशः, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शराग्निः, 23 वर्मानूपः, 24 आचार्यादणत्वं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी). क्षुब्धः, 25 वृष्टुः, वृत्तमनः, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन-यङ् वृत्ती, 27 गिरिनीदी. 28 गृह्णमनः, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्यभोगीनः, 29 चतुर्हयन, 30 इरिकादीनि वनोत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम् । इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मार. अकृतिगण.

स्तोः इचुना इचुः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोः, इचुना, इचुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारचवर्गाभ्यां सन्निपाते शकारचवर्गादेशौ भवतः ।

40. The letters स and the dentals when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to श and palatals respectively.

The rule of यथासंख्य does not apply here with regard to first part स्तो इचुना ॥ The स in contact with श is changed to श but it is also so changed when in contact with letters of च class. Similarly letters of त class coming in contact with श or a letter of च class, are changed to च class. The rule of यथासंख्य, however, applies to the substitutes, namely स is changed to श, and तु to चु ॥

1st. स in contact with शः as, वृक्षस् + शेते = वृक्षश्शेते, so also प्लक्षश्शेते ॥

2nd. स in contact with चुः—as, वृक्षस् + चिनोति = वृक्षश्चिनोति, प्लक्षश्चिनोति, वृक्षश्छादयति, प्लक्षश्छादयति ॥

3rd. तु with शः—अग्निचित् + शेते = अग्निश्छेते, so सोममुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with चुः—अग्निचित् + चिनोति = अग्निश्चिनोति, so also सोममुच्छिनोति, अग्निश्छादयति, अग्निश्छजयति, अग्निश्छकारम्, सोममुच्छादयति, सोममुच्छजयति, सोममुच्छकारम्, अग्निश्छकारः, सोममुच्छकारः ॥ Similarly मस्ज् gives मज्जति, the स is changed to दृ by हलाजश् हशि VIII. 4. 53, and then this दृ is changed to a palatal i. e. to श here; and दृ obtained by जश् rule is not considered asiddha here. See VIII. 2. 3. So also from भस्ज् we have भज्जति ॥

5th. चकार followed by सकारः as, यज् + न (III. 3. 90) = यज् + न् = यजः, याच् + न = याच्ना ॥ In fact the instrumental case इचुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and चु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by इचु, or इचु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th.(a) स followed by चु is changed into शः as, भस्ज् + ति = भस्ज् + श + ति (III. 1. 77, VI. 1. 16) = भस्ज् + ति = भस्ज् + ति = (VIII. 4. 53) = भज्जति ॥ Similarly मस्ज् forms मज्जति, व्रश्च forms वृश्चति ॥

The aphorism शान् (VIII. 4. 44) which prohibits the change of तु into चु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been स्तो ओः इचुः i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

घुना घुः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ घुना, घुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारतवर्गयोः षकारतवर्गाभ्यां सन्निपाते षकारतवर्गादेशौ भवतः ।

41. The letters स् and dentals in contact with ष and cerebrals, are changed into ष and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with ष as, वृक्षस् + षण्डे = वृक्षषण्डे; प्लक्षषण्डे ॥

(2) स with ड, as, वृक्षस + दीकते = वृक्षडीकते, वृक्षष्टकारः, प्लक्षडीकते and प्लक्षष्टकारः ॥

(3) तु with ष as पेष् + ता = पेष्टा, पेष्टुम्, पेष्टव्यम्, कृषीष्ट, कृषीष्टाः (Atmane, Aorist 2nd per dual).

(4) तु with ड, as, अग्निचित् + दीकते = अग्निचिद्दीकते, सोमसुद्दीकते, अग्निचिद्वृद्धकारः, अग्निचिद्दीनः, अग्निचिद्वृद्धीकते, अग्निचिण्णकारः, सोमसुद्वृद्धकारः, सोमसुद्वृद्धीनः, सोमसुद्वृद्धीकते, सोमसुद्वृद्धीणकारः ॥

The root अन्तृ अतिक्रमणार्हिसयोः, and अद् अभियोमे, are read in the Dhātu-pāṭha with त् and द् penultimate, in order that when the affix क्तिप् is added to them, the final ट and ड being elided by संयोगान्त rule, the derivatives will be अन् and अद् ending in त् and द् ॥ Another reason is that the sūtra VI. 1. 3, should apply to their reduplicate. In these roots the त् and द् are changed, as अद्वृत्ति and अद्वृत्ति ॥

न पदान्ताद्वेरनाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, पदान्तात्, दोः, अनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्ताद्वर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तोः दुव्यं न भवति नामित्येतद्वर्जयित्वा ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनाम्नवत्तिनगरीणामिति वक्तव्यम् ।

42. After ड final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्टु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus अलिद् + साये = अलिद्साये, मधुलिद्साये, अलिद्वृत्ति, मधुलिद्वृत्ति ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईद् + ते = ईष्ट + ते = ईष्टे ॥

Why do we say दोः 'after ड'? Observe सर्पिष् + तमम् = सर्पिष्टमम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix nām'? Observe षट् + नाम् = षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vārt :—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवतिः ninety-six, and षण्णगरी 'six cities'.

तोः षि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, षि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य षकारे यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ।

43. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, अग्निचित् + षण्डे = अग्निचित्षण्डे ॥ भवान्षण्डे, महान्षण्डे ॥

शात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारादुत्तरस्य तवर्गस्य यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ।

44. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and तोः are understood here. This is an exception to VIII. 4. 40. Thus, प्रच्छ + न (III. 3. 90) = प्रश् + न (VI. 4. 19) = प्रश्नः, विप्रः &c.

यरोनुनासिकेनुनासिको वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यरः, अनुनासिकं, अनुनासिकः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यरः पदान्तस्यानुनासिके परतो वायुनासिकदेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यरोनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यवचनं कर्तव्यम् ।

45. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह final) in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पदान्त is understood here. Thus वाक् + नयति = वाग्रयति or वाङ्-मयति, अग्निचिद्वनयति or अग्निचिद्वनयति, विदुश्चयति or विदुश्चयति, श्वलिणयति or श्वलिङ्गयति ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, वेद् + मि = वेदि ॥ Here there is no option. So also क्षुभ्नाति ॥

Vart :—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus वाक् + माचम = वाङ्माचम, कियन्माचम ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मय and माच that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal.

अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, रहाभ्यां, द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उच्चरो यो रेफकारौ ताभ्यामुत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवतः ।

46. There is reduplication of यर्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह following a vowel.

The word यर् of last sūtra is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus अर्कः, मर्कः, ब्रह्मा, अपह्नुते ॥

Why do we say अचः 'following a vowel'? Observe हनुते, झलयति ॥

अनचि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन, अचि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवतोऽनचि परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यणो मयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ यारः खयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ अवसाने च यरो द्वे भवतः इति वक्तव्यम् ।

47. When a vowel does not follow, there is reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

The words अचः and यरः are understood here.

Thus वधि + अच = वध् + अच (VI. 1. 77) = वध् + अच दध् + अच (VIII. 4. 53) = वध् + अच, so also मद्धन् ॥

Why do we say अच: "after a vowel?" Observe सितम्, स्नातम् ॥

Vart:—यणो मयो द्वे भवतः ॥ This Vārtika may be interpreted in two ways. First taking यणः as ablative and मयः as genitive. "The letters of the pratyāhāra मय् are reduplicated after यण् letters." उल्का, बाल्मीकः ॥ Secondly taking यणः as genitive, and मयः as ablative. "The letters यण् are reduplicated after मय् letters". As दध्यन्, मध्यन् ॥

Vart:—शरः खयो द्वे भवतः ॥ This is also similarly explained in two ways. 1st "There is reduplication of खय् letters, after a sibilant for शर् letters". as स्थाल, स्थान. Secondly. 'There is reduplication of a sibilant (शर् letters), after खय् letters, ss, वस्सरः, अप्सराः ॥

Vart:—अवसाने च यरो द्वे भवतः ॥ There is reduplication of यर् when a Pause ensues. As बाक्, व्यक्, पद्, तन् &c.

These reduplications are curiosities, rather than practicalities.

नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आदिनी, आक्रोशे, पुत्रस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिनी परत आक्रोशे गम्यमाने पुत्रशब्दस्य न द्वे भवतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्परे चेति वक्तव्यम् । वा० ॥ वा हतजन्धपरदिति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ अथा द्वितीयाः शरि पौष्करसादिः ।

48. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādinī follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by the last sūtra. Thus पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication takes place. Thus पुत्रादिनी व्याघ्री 'a kind of tigress, that eats up her young ones'. = शिशुमारी व्याघ्री ॥

Vart:—So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्र पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

Vart:—Optionally so when the words हत and जन्ध follow. As पुत्रहती or पुत्रहती, पुत्रजन्धी or पुत्रजन्धी ॥

Vart:—According to the option of Āchārya Paushkarasādi, the letters of चय् pratyāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of शर् pratyāhāra).

As वस्तः becomes वध्स्: अक्षरम् becomes अक्षरम् and अप्सरा becomes अप्सरा ॥

शरोचि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरः, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरोचि परतो न द्वे भवतः ।

49. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows.

The word न is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule 46 ante. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, आकर्षः, अवर्षः ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows? Observe दृश्यते ॥

त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु, शाकटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु वर्णेषु संयुक्तेषु शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन न भवति ।

50. According to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः, चन्द्रः, उष्ट्रः, राष्ट्रम्, भ्राष्ट्रम् ॥

सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, शाकल्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन सर्वत्र द्विवचनं न भवति ।

51. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, मर्कः, ब्रह्मा, अपहृनुते ॥

दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, आचार्याणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्याचार्याणां मतेन न भवति ।

52. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As वाचम्, पाचम्, मूचम्, सूचम् ॥

झलां जश्झशि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलाम्, जश्, झशि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां स्थानि जशादेशो भवति झशि परतः ।

53. In the room of झल् letters, there is substitution of जश् letters, when झश् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus लभ् + ता = लब्धा, so also लब्धुम्, लब्धव्यम् ; क्षेम्धा, क्षेम्धुम्, क्षेम्धव्यम् ; बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम् ॥

Why do we say झशि, 'when a jhaś follows? Observe दत्तः, दत्थः, दध्मः ॥

अभ्यासे चर्च् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासे, चर्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासे वर्त्तमानानां झलां चरादेशो भवति चकाराज्जश्च ।

54. The चर् is also the substitute of झल् letters occurring in a reduplicate syllable, as well as जश् ॥

In a reduplicate syllable, a sonant non-aspirate (जश्) as well as a surd non aspirate (चर्) is the substitute of a Mute letter. By applying the rule of

'nearest in place (I. 1. 50), we find that sonant non-aspirate (जश्) is the substitute of all sonants; and is the substitute of all surds. In other words all aspirate letters become non-aspirate. The word जश् has been drawn into the sūtra by the word च 'also'.

Thus चिखनिषति ॥ Here सन् (Desiderative), is added to the root खन्, the ख is changed to छ by VII. 4. 62, and this aspirate छ is now changed to non-aspirate by the present sūtra. चिच्छिषति, दिङ्कारयिषति, तिष्ठासति, पिक्कारयिषति, बुभूषति, जिघत्सति, दुडौकिषते ॥

If there is चर् (non-aspirate surd) in the original, it will remain of course unchanged. As, चिच्चीषति, दिदीकिषते, तितनिषति ॥

The original जश् also remains unchanged. Thus जिजनिषति, बुबुधे, ददौ, दिङ्ङे ॥ Or to be more accurate a चर् is replaced by a चर् and a जश् by a जश् letter.

खरि च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खरि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खरि च परतो झलां चरादेशो भवति ।

55. In the room of झल्, there is the substitute चर्, when खर् follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words झलां and चर् are supplied from the last sūtra. Thus भेद् + ता = भेत्ता, भेत्तुम्, भेत्तव्यम्; युयुध् + सते = युयुस्तते; आरिप्सने, आलिप्सते from रभ् and लभ्, the इस् is added by VII. 4. 54, in the room of अ of रभ् and लभ्, and we have रिस्स् and लिस्स् then the first स is elided by VIII. 2. 29.

वावसाने ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अवसाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां चरिति वर्त्तते । अवसाने वर्त्तमानानां झलां वा चरादेशो भवति ।

56. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a झल् that occurs in a Pause.

The words भलां चर् is understood in the sūtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus वाक् or वाग्, खक् or खग्, खलिद् or खलिङ्, बिहुप् or बिहुङ् ॥

अणोप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणः, अप्रगृह्यस्य, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणः अप्रगृह्यस्यस्यावसाने वर्त्तमाने वा अनुनासिकादेशो भवति ।

57. The anunāsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Prāgrihya.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Prāgrihya (I. 1. 11 &c.) The अण् here

is a Pratyāhāra with the first ण् ॥ Thus इधि or इधि, मधु or मधु, कुमारी or कुमारी ॥

Why do we say 'of an अण्व vowel?' Observe, कर्तु, हर्तु ॥

Why do we say 'which is not a prāgrihya'? Observe अग्नी, वायु which are prāgrihya by I. I. II.

अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुस्वारस्य, ययि, परसवर्णः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुस्वारस्य ययि परतः परसवर्ण आदेशो भवति ।

58. In the room of anusvāra, when यय् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus शङ्किता, शङ्कितम्, शङ्कितव्यम्, उञ्जिता, कुण्डिता, नन्दिता, कम्पिता &c. These are from roots शङ्कि शङ्कायाम्, उञ्जि उञ्जे, कुण्डिवाहे, दुनदि सङ्घट्टौ, कपि चालने ॥ Here नुम् is added because they are उदिन्, and this न् becomes anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24, and this anusvāra is changed to ङ् when followed by a guttural क् &c, to म् when followed by a palatal च् &c, and so on to ण्, न् and स ॥

Why do we say when यय् follows? Observe आक्रंस्यते, आचिक्रंस्यते ॥

In कुर्वन्ति, वृषन्ति, the न् is not changed into ण्, though required by VIII. 4. 2. Because the णस्व is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24, the न् is first changed into anusvāra (VIII. 2. 1). That anusvāra is again changed into न् by the present rule, न् being homogeneous with त् ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1), the ण् is never substituted for न् ॥

वा पदान्तस्य ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, पदान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तस्यानुस्वारस्य ययि परतो वा परसवर्णदेशो भवति ।

59. In the room of anusvāra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus तं कयं चित्रपक्षं जयमानं नभःस्थं पुरुषोऽवधीत् or तङ्कयञ्चित्रपक्षजयमानन्नभःस्थपुरुषोऽवधीत् ॥

तोर्लि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, लि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य लकारे परतः परसवर्णदेशो भवति ।

60. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अग्निचित् + लुनाति = अग्निचिल्लुनाति, सोमसुल्लुनाति; भवान् + लुनाति = भवौल्लुनाति, महौल्लुनाति ॥ Here त् has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal न् is changed to a nasal लँ ॥

उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, स्था स्तम्भोः, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद उत्तरयोः स्था स्तम्भ इत्येतयोः पूर्वसवर्णदेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ उदः पूर्वसवर्णत्वे स्कन्देशल्लुन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ।

वा० ॥ रोगे चेति वक्तव्यम् ।

61. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this स) ॥

As उद् + स्थाता = उद् + थ्याता = उद् + थाता (VIII. 4. 65) = उन् + थाता (VIII. 4. 55) = उन्थाता, उन्थातुम्, उन्थातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भ्, as, उत्तम्भिता, उत्तम्भितुम् &c. (See I. 1. 67 and 54).

Why do we say of स्था and स्तम्भ? Compare उन्नात ॥

Vart:—In the Vedas, the above substitution takes place in the case of स्कन्ध preceded by उद् ॥ As, अमे वृक्षस्कन्धः ॥

Vart:—So also when it means a disease. As उल्कन्धको नाम रोगः ॥ Or this form may have been derived from the root कन्ध, and not स्कन्ध ॥

झयो होन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ झयः, हः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झय उत्तरस्य हकारस्य पूर्वसवर्णविशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

62. In the room of the letter ह, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyâhâra झय् includes all Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here.

As वाक् + हसति = वाक्पसति or वाक् हसति, श्वलिङ् हसति or हसति, अग्निचिद् भसति or हसति, विट् भसति or हसति, सोमसुद् भसति or सोमसुद् हसति ॥

Why do we say झयः 'after a sonant Mute?' Observe प्राङ् हसति, भवान् हसति ॥

शश्छोटि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शः, छः, अटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झय इति वर्त्तते । अन्यतरस्यामिति च । झय उत्तरस्य शकारस्याटि परतश्छकारविशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ छत्वममीति वक्तव्यम् ।

63. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter छ when a vowel or य, व or र follows such श ॥

Though झय् means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words झय् and अन्यतरस्याम् are to be read into the sūtra. Thus वाक् + शेते = वाक्छते or शेते ॥ अग्निचिच्छेते or अग्निचिन् शेते, श्वलिङ् शेते or छेते, विट्पछेते or शेते ॥

Vart:—It should rather be stated when a letter of अम् pratyâhâra follows. The sūtra only gives अद् letters, the vârtika adds the letters छ, and the nasals. Thus तत् श्लोकेन = तच् छलोकेन, तच्छमभुणा ॥

हलो यमां यमि लोपः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, यमाम्, यमि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरेषां यमां यमि परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

64. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

The word अन्यतरस्याम् should be read into the sūtra. Thus द्यया or द्या, the middle य् being elided. In द्या there are two यs, one of the affix क्यप् (III. 3. 99); and the second of अयङ् (VII. 4. 22), and the third arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47). आदित्य (formed by doubling य् by the Vārtika under 47 ante), or आदित्य 'son of Aditi' In आदित्य there are two यs, one of व्य (IV. 1. 85), and the second arises by doubling.

Similarly आदित्य देवता अस्य स्थाली पाकस्य = आदित्यः ॥ Then by VIII. 4. 47, there is a third य, as आदित्यः ॥ Here also we may elide the one middle य or both the middle य's. Thus आदित्यः or आदित्यः ॥

Why do we say हलः 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe अन्नम् when न् is preceded by a vowel.

Why do we say यमाम् "of यम् letters"? Observe अग्निः, अर्थम् (V. 4. 25) where य is not a यम् ॥

Why do we say यमि "when यम् follows"? Observe दार्ढ्यम् here ह् is not followed by a यम् ॥

क्षरो क्षरि सवर्णे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षरः, क्षरि, सवर्णे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य क्षरो क्षरि सवर्णे परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

65. A Mute or Sibilant (क्षर) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

The word हलः is understood. Thus प्रवृत्तम्, अवृत्तम् have three त, namely, one त substituted for वा by VII. 4. 47, the second त resulting from the change of व् to त् by चर्त्त्व change, the third त is that of the affix. A fourth arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47) of these four, one or two middle ones may be dropped. मरुवृत्त here are four तs. A fifth may be added by doubling, and by this rule, one, two or three of them may be elided. मरुत् + वा + क्त = मरुत् + वृत् + त (VII. 4. 47) the word मरुत् being treated as an Upasarga (I. 4. 59, vārt) = मरुत्त ॥

Why do we say क्षरः 'of a jhar'? Compare दार्ढ्यम्, here ह् which is not a क्षर is not elided, though it is followed by a क्षर letter. Why do we say क्षरि 'followed by a jhar'? See प्रियपञ्चम् ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi compound = प्रियाः पञ्चास्य ॥ The word प्रिय stands first in the compound under II. 2. 35. (vārt). The full word is प्रियापञ्चम्, the अ is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we have प्रियपञ्चम्; and then this न् becomes a palatal ञ् ॥ Here ञ् is preceded by a हल् letter, and itself is a क्षर, and is followed by a homogeneous

letter **ञ**, but as **ञ** is not **झ**, the **च** is not elided. The elided **अ** is not considered sthānivat, and so **च** is considered to be *immediately* followed by **ञ** ॥

Why do we say **सर्वे** 'when a homogeneous jhar follows'? Observe **तर्तुः तर्मम्** &c, where **प** and **तृ** are not homogeneous.

By using the word **सर्वे**, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) is avoided. Had the rule been **झरो झरि** the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration would have applied, and the forms **शिण्डि पिण्डि** could not have been evolved by the elision of **इ** before **ढ** ॥ For the evolution of these forms see the commentary under I. 1. 58. These are the Imperative 2nd Person Singular of **शिप्** and **पिप्** ॥ The **अ** of **अम्** is elided by VI. 4. 111: the **हि** is changed to **धि** by VI. 4. 101, the **पृ** is changed to **इ** by VIII. 4. 53, the **न्** of **अम्** is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24; this anusvāra is again changed to **ण** by VIII. 4. 58; the **ध** is changed to **ढ**, and by the present rule, the preceding **इ** is elided before this **ढ** ॥

उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्तात्, अनुदात्तस्य, स्वरितः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तादुत्तरस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरितादेशो भवति ।

66. The Svarita is the substitute of an Anudatta vowel which follows an Udatta vowel.

Thus **अग्निम् + ईले = अग्निमीले** ॥ Here **ई** which was **अनुदात्त** by rule VIII. 1. 28, becomes svarita by the present rule, as it comes after the udatta **इ** of **अग्नि**.

So also **गार्ग्यः, काश्यः** ॥ Here **यम्** is added by IV. 1. 105, and being **भिन्** the words are first acute. The final is **अनुदात्त**, which becomes svarita. So also **पठन्ति** and **पठन्ति**, the **क्षप्** and **तिप्** are **अनुदात्त**, the root is accented, the **अ** of **क्षप्** becomes svarita.

The rule VI. 1. 158, does not change this svarita into an Anudatta, because for the purposes of that rule, the present rule is **असिद्ध**, or as if it had not taken place (VIII. 2. 1). Therefore both the udatta and the svarita accent are heard.

नोदात्तस्वरितोदयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्त-स्वरित-उदयम्, अ-गार्ग्य-काश्यप-गालवानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोदयस्य स्वरितोदयस्य चानुदात्तस्य स्वरितो न भवति अगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥ उदात्तोदयः = उदात्तपरः ।

67 All prohibit the above substitution of svarita, except the **Āchāryās Gārgya, Kāśyapa** and **Gālava**; when an udatta or a svarita follows the anudatta.

This debars the preceding rule. That anudatta which is *followed* by an Udatta is **उदात्तोदयः** or **उदात्तपरः** ॥ The word **उदय** means **पर** in the terminology of ancient Grammarians. That anudatta which is *followed* by a svarita is called **स्वरितोदयः** ॥ These are Bahuvrīhi compounds. Thus **उदात्तोदयः—गार्ग्य-**

स्तं, वास्य स्तं ॥ The word स्तं is first acute by लिट् accent, before this udatta, the य of these words does not become svarita. So with स्वरितोदयः—गार्ग्यः कुं वास्यः कुं ॥ The word कु is svarita being formed by the लिट् affix अन् (V. 3. 12); before this svarita the preceding य does not become svarita.

Why do we say "except in the opinion of Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava"? Observe गार्ग्यः कुं, गार्ग्यस्तं ॥ According to their opinion, the svarita change does take place.

The employment of the longer word उदय instead of the shorter word पर is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the Book has approached the end. The very utterance of the word उदय is auspicious. All sacred works commence with an auspicious word, have an auspicious word in the middle, and end with an auspicious word. Thus Pāṇini commences his sūtra with the auspicious word वृद्धिः 'increase' (in Sūtra I. 1. 1): has the word शिव 'the well-wisher' in the middle (IV. 4. 143), and उदय at the end.

The mention of the names of those several Āchāryas is for the sake of showing respect (pujārtham).

अ अ इति ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, अ, इति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकोऽत्र विवृतोऽपरः संवृतस्तत्र विवृतस्य संवृतः क्रियते । अकारो विवृतः संवृतो भवति ।

68. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is contracted; but it is considered to be open only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneousness* mentioned in I. 1. 9, would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashṭādhyāyī, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise". (Dr. Ballantyne).

Thus वृत्तः, वृत्तः ॥ In this Grammar, the अ is regarded open or विवृता, when operations are performed with it; but in actual pronunciation it is contracted. The long आ and the pluta आ इ are not meant to be included here in the open short अ; therefore those two are not contracted by this rule. Only

the *short* अ consisting of *one* mātra, with *its* various modifications is to be taken here. In other words the *six* shorts अ are only taken here, namely अ, अ, अ, अ, अ, अ ॥ For these six short open अs, there are substituted six contracted corresponding अ's See I. 1. 9.

॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

10. 10. 98.



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